

# THE STANDARD

NO. 120—VOL. V, NO. 16.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, APRIL 20, 1889.

PRICE FIVE CENTS

THE STANDARD advocates the abolition of all taxes upon industry and the products of industry, and the taking, by taxation upon land values irrespective of improvements, of the annual rental value of all those various forms of natural opportunities embraced under the general term, Land.

We hold that to tax labor or its products is to discourage industry.

We hold that to tax land values to their full amount will render it impossible for any man to exact from others a price for the privilege of using those bounties of nature in which all living men have an equal right of use; that it will compel every individual controlling natural opportunities to either utilize them by the employment of labor, or abandon them to others; that it will thus provide opportunities of work for all men, and secure to each the full reward of his labor; and that as a result involuntary poverty will be abolished, and the greed, intemperance and vice that spring from poverty and the dread of poverty will be swept away.

## HENRY GEORGE IN ENGLAND.

LONDON, April 5.—I did not get up to London (in this country it is always "up" to London, even though you come from John o' Groat's house) in time last Saturday to go down to Enfield to see the election there, as I had intended. The result at Enfield was a reduction of the last tory majority, but the liberals do not feel it to be a winning. This district is largely composed of what the people call "Villadom," where the voters are London business and professional men who feel that their social position is enhanced by their toryism. It has also in its electorate a large number of property voters, many of whom are fagot voters. The tories made tremendous efforts, and their proposal to expend a large sum in preparation for war was used with effect among the workmen of the Enfield arms factories and the tradesmen who see increase of business in this expenditure. Some of my radical friends tell me that they are not sorry that the succession of liberal victories has received this check, as it will tend to show the leaders that they must lay more stress on social questions.

But how rapidly the liberal party is coming into line on the land question is shown by the following, which I cut from a special edition of the Enfield Express, printed in bright blue ink, and circulated on the eve of the election.

The political colors differ in various districts, in some places blue being the tory color, and in others the liberal color. In Enfield blue happens to be the liberal color and scarlet the tory color, and the aristocratic people who were out at work in Enfield on election day all wore scarlet favors.

I cut these extracts from an article printed in parallel columns, entitled *Whom shall I vote for?* Fairbairns was, of course, the liberal candidate, and Bowles the tory one.

I want to see Ireland contented and happy; with the same rights of free men as I have myself; her people enjoying the fruits of their own labor and industry without being under the yoke of rack-renting landlords, and not compelled to pay more rent because God sends them a good harvest. I want to see them managing their own affairs in a branch parliament in Dublin, and united with England by true sympathy and interest with our Queen, One flag, One army, One navy, and No separation. So I will vote for FAIRBAIRNS.

I want to have a free breakfast table, no tax on tea, coffee or fruit; no tax on beer, spirits, tobacco or opium; no income tax, no local rates, but all the money required for government to be raised by a tax on land values gradually increased, so that my rates and taxes may be only my fair share instead of being twice or three times too much to enable the pockets of rich landlords. I mean while I want to see the landlord of my house paying part of the rates. So I will vote for FAIRBAIRNS.

I want to see the landlords of Ireland fat and thriving and the Irish tenants compelled to pay the highest possible rents the landlords can screw out of them on pain of eviction, to collect which I am willing to pay for an army of 30,000 soldiers and 1,000 armed policemen who shall threaten the poor people, turn them out of their own houses and burn them down sooner than let them go back. I want to see everybody imprisoned and treated as a common criminal who tries to help them or tells them how they may help themselves. So I will vote for BOWLES.

I rather like to pay a good deal of money to save the rich landlords from paying so much. I like an income tax, especially when my income is altogether the result of my own exertions. I like the ground landlord to line me a good round sum on my letting my house on pain of eviction, and to have to give up the house I had built and all my improvements when the lease ends. I like to see a lot of people able to live well without working because they can compel me and others to pay them for the right to live in our native country. So I will vote for BOWLES.

I found on getting up to London on Saturday, my old friend Mr. T. F. Walker of Birmingham at the station to greet me. He gave me the following circular which he had had printed and distributed to each one present at the Birmingham ward committee's meetings last week, which insured its getting into the hands of every active man of the liberal party:

## THE ROOT OF THE IRISH DIFFICULTY.

The Irish difficulty arises from the fact that for generations past the landlords have been draining the country of the rent which, springing from the labor of the community, is the common property of all; the result being to degrade the race physically and intellectually and to reduce the peasantry to a state of reckless despair which must remain a standing menace to the empire until the cause is removed.

It is the law of God, the law of Christianity, and in harmony with common sense, that the industrious man should be rich and the man who labors not should be poor. The whole economy of the United Kingdom is a direct infringement of this great law of property. The richest men are those who do not labor and who never did labor. And by private ownership of land their wealth is secured in such a manner that it descends from generation to generation, and goes on constantly increasing without any exertion on their part. *Were they to sleep for a hundred years, they would wake up more wealthy than ever;* and if they did wake, they would wake only to encumber the industry of the country. They are the true "surplus population"—ever consuming, nothing producing—fed, clothed and sheltered at the expense of the nation, and returning nothing to the nation but hindrance to its welfare.

Such a system—a shilling a day to a laborer who does labor and a thousand pounds a day to a lord who does not labor—such a system contains within itself either the elements of national decay or the elements of national disaster. Either the nation must be sacrificed to the landed interest, or the landed interest must be sacrificed to the interests of the nation.

The true, and the only true theory of a nation, is that the soil belongs to it in perpetuity, and can never be alienated from it; and that he who will give the greatest rent for the soil shall become a state tenant, *paying the rent to the nation for the benefit of the whole community.* When our social system is based upon this just foundation, then, but not till then, will labor reap its natural reward.

A moment's consideration will show that the buying out of the existing landlords, in order to transfer the land to small farmers, leaves the laborers just where they are, and is nothing more than the putting up of a barrier of small owners to protect landlordism generally.

It is now as certain as anything can be that the liberal party is going to be driven into the lines of the single tax, and the longer the present government maintains power the stronger will this show in the next parliament.

I went on Sunday morning to hear Dr. Parker preach in the City temple. I had never been in the church before except when I spoke there on my last visit to London at a mid-week service. The building is a very large and very beautiful one, richly decorated but in the best of taste. The congregation is worthy of the building. I do not see how Dr. Parker, save as a matter of mere change, could think of giving up his London pulpit for any one in Brooklyn. This was the first time I had ever fairly heard him, and I could realize the power which had built such a church and drawn such a congregation. His sermon, which was announced in the papers as "Christian spiritualism," was a protest against the idea that there is nothing in the universe beyond what our senses apprise us of, and he gave as matter of his own knowledge several interesting accounts of the communication of mental impressions by other than the ordinary modes.

Mr. Walker, my wife and I walked quietly into the church just before the service commenced, and I did not know

that Dr. Parker was aware of my presence, but at the close of the service he alluded to it, and welcomed me back to England. He said that when some months ago it was announced that I was to speak from his platform, there were some who thought the roof would fall in or the church would be deserted. But he called on me to notice that the church was still there and the congregation as large as ever; and said he had heard nothing but approbation of my address. Alluding to John Bright and the universal testimonial of esteem and respect which his death had called forth, he said he well remembered the time when he was denounced as a destructive of the worst kind, and that whoever stood for truth and justice might be certain sooner or later of misrepresentation and praise. I had a very pleasant chat with Dr. Parker in his retiring room after the service. He told me what I hear everywhere, that our ideas are making wonderful progress in England.

Large as his congregation of the City Temple is at morning services, it is still larger at night, great crowds being turned away every Sunday evening. It seems to be generally the case in London that the evening services, which begin at seven o'clock, are most largely attended.

On Monday afternoon I went with R. Pearsall Smith of Philadelphia for a spin through the parks in his double-seated American wagon behind two spirited horses. Alfred Webb of the Colonial hall and Fabian society was also of the party and we had a very pleasant time. If the sun does not shine much in London the atmospheric effect is very fine; and though the spring is late the grass is green, the shrubbery is beginning to bud and the brilliant flowers have already been set out in the great beds which adorn the walks and drives through the various parks. As we spun along I could notice people turning to look at the American wagon and American harness so different in their lightness from the much heavier English rigs. We certainly excel in wagons, just as we excel in every branch of manufacture that has not had to encounter the blighting effects of the "protection of American industry."

Mr. Smith is living with his family in London as many Americans are doing, and more every year are beginning to do. This great capital, the metropolis of the world, and especially of the English speaking world, has attractions for men of means which no other city can rival. Mr. Smith is engaged in a most highly protected industry, but whether he is a protectionist or not I do not know, as I did not ask him the question. I should hardly think he could be, as he is too intelligent and too much a citizen of the world, but it is a curious commentary on American protection to find so many protected American manufacturers living on this side of the water or bringing their families over every season for a summer trip. If there were any logic or consistency in the absurd muddlement which passes for a "protective theory" there would certainly be an *ad valorem* protective duty to prevent Americans of means exporting themselves abroad, thus depriving American labor of the "encouragement" it would get were they forced to remain at home and spend their money there.

We passed the great palaces and wide

grounds that are entirely shut off from the people, although the queen does not on an average spend a night in them in a year, and is even most chary of letting visiting royalties lodge in them. And some fine drives we saw even in the open parks in which a few carriages were rolling, but which we could not enter, because they are reserved for "friends of the queen." Though we of course felt ourselves to be friends of the queen, we had not that intimate personal acquaintance with Her Majesty which would enable us to drive through them. No common hansom or hackney coach is allowed to pass through any of the drives in the parks. They are reserved for people who can maintain their own carriages or hire for the occasion something that looks like a private turn-out. The scene in the drive around Rotten row toward the close of an afternoon in the "season" now just beginning, is very fine as carriage after carriage with liveried coachmen and footmen pass along.

The radicals in the house of commons, led by Labouchere, have been for some time pounding away each session endeavoring to open the drives kept for the "friends of the queen." This year they came within two votes of carrying their motion, so that it is probable that ere long some of them at least will be thrown open.

One of the queerest things in London to an American is the iron gates which block the way in some of the streets in the dominions of the duke of Bedford and other great titled landlords. These are open during the day, and private carriages and hackney coaches are graciously permitted to pass through, but everything of a more commercial description must make long detours. A man in a liveried coat and with a big gold band around his hat guards each gate during the day, and after a certain hour at night the gates are closed to everything. I fancy that passengers for the Northwestern railway station at Euston often lose their trains by reason of the roundabout journeys they must make to avoid the duke of Bedford's gates. The London county council will have something to say before long about these vested rights to stop travel.

I began my week's lecturing in London by speaking on Monday night in Westminster chapel. This is, I should imagine, the largest Congregational church in London. It is at least, I think, the largest church adapted to preaching that I have ever seen anywhere, except the great Mormon tabernacle at Salt Lake, and has immense deep galleries. The audience not much more than filled the floor, but made up in quality what it lacked in quantity. It seemed to be mainly composed of the regular congregation, though several ministers of other churches and a number of members of parliament and of the county council were present. Albert Spicer presided, and in opening made a speech which it did me good to hear—a plain succinct statement of what the single tax is and of the reasons for its adoption. He said that after long deliberation he had come to the conclusion that this was not merely the best but the only remedy for the social difficulties which are pressing on this country, and which all other proposed remedies were unable to reach. I am specially glad of Mr. Spicer's advo-



cacy of our cause, because of the great weight he has with a most influential class, such as was represented in Westminster chapel. In fact, the opening to our doctrines of this and other of the Congregational churches is due to his influence.

The chairman of the board of deacons made a brief statement, saying that I had been invited to speak in the church because they believed in free and full discussion of the great social problems, but the church, as a church, was not committed to my views, and that a pamphlet opposing those views by an influential Congregationalist, Samuel Smith, M. P., would be distributed to the audience as they went out. Mr. Smith was present and had sent up to the chairman a number of questions which he wished to be put to me. He is a well known Liverpool merchant of great wealth, who has made very large donations to philanthropic objects, and is an active worker in the cause of temperance and all similar reforms. He formerly represented Liverpool in parliament, but in 1886 was elected by the Welsh constituency of Flintshire. Learning that he was present, I asked him at the close of my address, which I purposely made short, to come upon the platform and put his questions personally or make any objections that he chose to. He accepted the invitation and we about divided the rest of the time between us. The audience, which was a most intelligent and attentive one, had seemed to appreciate and enjoy both Mr. Spicer's speech and mine, but they appeared to still more enjoy the remainder of the evening. I certainly did myself. Of course Mr. Smith's objections were about like those advanced in such papers as the Evening Post, and as easily knocked over. The audience had thoroughly warmed up and laughed and applauded with the utmost gusto, as I quickly answered every objection made by Mr. Smith.

At the conclusion Mr. Angus Sutherland, M. P. for Sutherlandshire, rose in the audience and asked permission to put a couple of questions to Mr. Smith, with the result of showing by Mr. Smith's own admission that the single tax would be simply a going back in modern form to the old principles of land tenure in Great Britain. Dr. Clark, M. P. for Caithness, wound up with a ringing little speech in which he declared the single tax the true antidote to socialism and the only means by which public revenues could be raised without in any way lessening the production of wealth or interfering with the just rights of property.

Mr. Smith, however, was not satisfied, and expressed his desire for a longer and fuller debate. We shall of course be delighted to accommodate him, and Mr. Saunders has taken in hand the arrangement of a meeting when I return to London in May, at which Mr. Smith and I will divide the time.

The largest meeting I have yet addressed in this country during this trip was that on Tuesday evening at Lambeth Baths. The great hall, where the main body of the audience occupied what was originally intended for the bottom of a large swimming bath, was packed; and for the most part with workingmen, the galleries and the stage being crowded with people who could afford to pay a larger sum for admission. The hall was so crowded that it was intolerably hot, but in spite of this the vast audience remained till after ten o'clock and from appearances would have remained an hour or two longer but that the chairman pleaded that it was not fair play to keep longer on his feet a man who had to speak every night. Alderman Coldwell is in fact a model presiding officer, as good, I should

say, as Louis F. Post, though of course I did not see him under the difficulties which I have seen Mr. Post so successfully meet. There were a number of socialists present in the crowd and they managed to get in an occasional hoot or hiss, but they were as nothing compared with the great body and even they seemed to listen with the same rapt attention as the rest of the audience while I was speaking. At times it almost seemed as if but for my voice one could have heard a pin drop. When I stopped they shouted and shouted for me to go on, but as I knew there were many there who desired to put questions, I insisted upon giving them a chance. The questions came thick and fast, so many of them, that they could not all be answered, but the chairman managed to put all the important ones, especially those emanating from socialists. I was struck here, as I have been at all the meetings I have addressed, with the little hold that socialistic doctrines have on the working masses of this country, in spite of all the noise the socialists make; and when I pointed out of how little importance capital really is as compared to land and how to open the land to labor would put the laborer in a position to make a really free bargain with the capitalist, and give to labor the capital that was its product, the response was most enthusiastic and significant.

One socialist wanted to know why I had refused to debate with a prominent socialist, and I replied that I never had so refused, and if the matter could be arranged would be very glad to meet any reputable and representative socialist in discussion. If such a one comes forward, Mr. Saunders will arrange for a meeting before I leave England.

One question that meets me at all these meetings, and probably the most important, is whether the landlords could not shift the tax upon land values to the tenants and thus escape themselves. Of course the question is very readily answered to the satisfaction of the audience, but the frequency with which it is put shows how much foggiess exists in the public mind as to the incidences of taxation. Both conservatives and socialists work together in endeavoring to persuade people that the tax upon land values would result in increased rents and leave the laborer unaffected, but the obvious fact that the landlords do not want the tax on land values comes out very clearly wherever any discussion is roused.

The great meeting at Lambeth Baths was especially gratifying to Mr. Saunders and our friends on the committee as being a demonstration of what other of our meetings have shown, that workingmen will pay a small charge for admission for such a lecture. The enormous advantage of this is that it permits a campaign to be made for a cause which does not enlist the sympathies and open the pocket books of the rich.

One thing noticeable to me in all these London district meetings is the variation in the character of the audiences. In some places my audiences have seemed to be exclusively of the middle class and in others mainly the working class. For instance, in Westminster chapel the audience seemed to be composed entirely of the class of people who constitute the membership of such churches, while the body of the audience in Lambeth Baths was workingmen. The radical workingmen of London I am told do not like to go to churches, having a strong feeling that the influence of the church is against them. This unfortunately has to a great degree been true, but now in the churches, and in the Congregational churches especially, a great power is waking on the side of justice. It is the dissenting

churches, and especially the Congregational and Unitarian, who have given Mr. Gladstone his lever of strength, and in making way among them we are piercing the very center of the liberal forces.

I had another splendid audience in Wandsworth town hall on Wednesday evening. From appearance, manner and dress it was composed almost exclusively of the well-to-do middle class. Among those present on the platform were my old friends Thomas Briggs and the Rev. Philip Wickstead, John Cleave, assistant librarian of the British museum, and a number of local liberal politicians. Bowen Rowlands, Q. C., M. P. for Cardiganshire, presided, though in opening he declared he did not know much about the subject and had come to be instructed. The audience was extremely intelligent and appreciative. Mr. Bell, president of the Wandsworth liberal association, sat on the platform and evidently much enjoyed the lecture—so much so that he was called on by the chairman to move a vote of thanks. This seemingly took him by surprise, as he was evidently not prepared to publicly indorse such radical doctrines. So, with many compliments to me he made a back-action sort of speech, insisting on the necessity of compensating owners of land on account of the poor men who had saved their earnings and bought land. Mr. Robert Wallace, late liberal candidate for the parliamentary seat of Wandsworth borough was called on in the same way to second the vote of thanks. He made about the same sort of speech. When they had got through I wished the evening had been beginning, rather than closing, for I felt as much like making a speech as I ever did in my life. Telling the audience that the next time I came there I would like Mr. Bell to deliver the lecture and leave me to move the vote of thanks to him. I took the opportunity of moving a vote of thanks to the chairman to "go" for the half-hearted position of those two liberals, and if "hear-hears," the clapping of hands, the stamping of feet, and ringing cheers could show the sympathies of an audience, this audience was with me.

On Thursday night I spoke at Shoreditch town hall. This is a beautiful and large hall and it was filled with a splendid audience of the active rank and file of the liberal party in this district, with a sprinkling of socialists. Professor Stuart of Cambridge university, M. P. for the district, presided. Professor Stuart is one of the rising men in the radical section of the liberal party; an intimate friend of Mr. Gladstone's, he is exceedingly popular with the voters of his district, and ever since he first stood for it has been steadily rising in radical esteem. He made but a brief speech saying that he like his constituents had come there to hear me; but that he could assure me of one thing, and that was that they in Shoreditch had made up their minds to the taxation of ground rents. I was greeted when I rose with a perfect storm of applause and when it had at length subsided some hissing was heard from a body of socialists present which provoked another storm of applause. But I was listened to with perfect attention and before I got through the socialists seemed to join in the cheering with the rest of the audience. Many of the questions were of a socialistic character and I paid special attention to them. Mr. J. F. Torr, chairman of the county council's committee on the assessment of ground rents, proposed the vote of thanks and it was seconded by Mr. J. Branch, also of the county council. Both made short, terse speeches which expressed full sympathy with the single tax movement.

The members of the Radical club who got up this meeting were very much de-

lighted by its success, as after paying all expenses they will have a handsome surplus left.

Though Professor Stuart did not make much of a speech in presiding at this meeting, he had made a lengthy speech at a meeting the night before in Bermondsey, explaining the measures which the radical London members have resolved to endeavor to push. They have, in the first place, a bill which will reduce the residential period required for voting to three months instead of a year, as at present. This will very greatly add to the radical vote in London, for here, as in New York, the working class are constantly moving, and the requirement of a year's residence in the voting district cuts off a very large number of radical voters. The principal part of Professor Stuart's speech was, however, devoted to the subject of getting taxes on ground rents. The London radical members have framed a bill providing that all expenses for cutting and widening streets, improving drainage, and effecting other permanent improvements, shall be defrayed by taxation of ground values. They also proposed that taxation for the payment of the debt of London, amounting now to £38,000,000, shall be borne by the ground landlords, giving the occupiers who pay the taxes the privilege of deducting the amount from their rent, and so on, until the owner of the land is reached. He also stated that they were framing a measure to enable the council to tax vacant land, in order to reduce the rates for the occupier and bring the land into the market; and still another bill for giving the county council power to acquire land in London and anywhere within five miles of it and build workingmen's dwellings on it. The main thing to be done, he said, was to put the burden of taxation upon the right shoulders. None of these proposed measures are likely to be passed by the present parliament but the next will be of a different complexion.

The liberal and radical candidates for London districts have formed an informal association, and are holding weekly meetings, discussing plans, measures, etc., which will, I think, be of much use, since the most radical elements will leaven the lump. Of the 58 members allotted London under the last apportionment the Tories captured in the last election all but 11. Next time the proportions will be reversed.

I wound up my work in London for the present by addressing last night (Friday) a very large meeting in Stratford town hall. Mr. Albert Spicer again presided and made an excellent and thoroughgoing single tax speech, and the large audience was, as I have found all my audiences this time, sympathetic and enthusiastic to the last degree.

I am exceedingly well pleased with this week in London. I have addressed five meetings, each one of them of the most gratifying kind. These meetings have hardly been noticed in the large London papers, for they do not report local meetings, but they tell powerfully in the districts and reach a mass of people who could not be reached by any central meeting. London is so vast that the great majority of its people live and move in their respective districts, and the only way of getting to them is by going to them in the different districts of the great city. It is pretty hard work speaking five nights a week for two hours each night and writing for THE STANDARD besides, but up to this time I have stood it very well.

On Monday I leave London and will not return until I have seen John o'Groat's house again. On Monday night I speak at Nottingham, on Tuesday at Pudsey and on Wednesday at Bradford;



Thursday, Bolton; Friday, Ashton-under-Lynn, and at Workington, at the mouth of Solway Firth, on Saturday. This is harder work than I like to do, and I do not see how I shall be able to write much for THE STANDARD next week. In traveling this way the strain of speaking and railway journeying is hardly greater than that of meeting and talking with our friends in the various places. On the following Monday, April 15, I speak at Alnwick; then on Tuesday at Sunderland, on Wednesday at Consett, and on Thursday at Newcastle. On Saturday, April the 20th, at Ashington colliery, and Sunday, by way of giving me a rest, they have some sort of religious meeting which they want me to address. Then I go into Scotland, and am down to speak at Edinburgh on the 22nd, at Galashiels near Melrose Abbey on the 23d, at Selkirk on the 24th, at Dumfries on the 25th, at Bridgton Cross near Glasgow on the 27th, in the City hall of Glasgow on the 28th, at Greenock on the 29th, at Campbeltown in the duke of Argyll's dominions on the 30th, at Bridgton again on the 1st of May. On the 2nd and 3d of May our Scottish friends write me that they want to get up some meetings among the miners. On the 4th I am down to speak at Paisley, on the 6th at Dundee, on the 7th at Aberdeen, and on the 8th of May I have been put down for Wick. From Wick I return south again, and speaking on the way get back to London in time for a great demonstration which is proposed for the 26th. I will do my best to get through all this as near to programme as possible, but it is anything but the restful enjoyment which to most Americans the trip to this side of the water means. If I ever get money enough to treat myself to a holiday I should much like to come over here and loaf through the country, for although this is the fifth time I have been over here pretty much all my journeying has been under high pressure.

There is no use sending by mail anything of the proceedings of the high commission. What was intended as a prosecution of the Irish party has now been virtually turned into a prosecution of the government. But STANDARD readers will be glad to know that Michael Davitt, whom I saw the day before yesterday, is in splendid health and full of enthusiasm. He is exceedingly busy in getting up evidence for the commission, but I have never seen him looking so well.

I have also been glad to meet in London during the week Henry Anckitell, formerly of THE STANDARD, and of the New York anti-poverty society. He has been doing splendid work in Belfast. His lecture before the United trades council of Belfast, entitled "Belfast and Taxation," was printed in full, at the request of the council, in the Belfast Evening Telegraph, and is now reprinted in a neat little pamphlet, and is finding a large circulation. The significance of this is that the United trades council of Belfast is controlled by Orangemen, and that the Belfast Evening Telegraph, which published the address in full, is bitterly opposed to the nationalist movement. In his lecture, Mr. Anckitell wisely left out any reference to the general movement or to me, but confined himself merely to showing the injustice and disadvantage to the city of Belfast in putting the local taxation on the improvers instead of on the owners of land. While the lecture was printed in full by the tory paper, it was also heartily indorsed in the News, the Nationalist paper.

The only out-and-out journalistic advocate of the single tax doctrine in Ireland is the Cork Eagle, "The Great Bird of the South," which, as I think has already been stated in THE STANDARD, is

reprinting "Progress and Poverty" in weekly installments. But all my information from Ireland is to the effect that the idea that the only permanent solution of the land question is to be found in the single tax is steadily making way.

The situation here is most interesting. Miss Taylor was right when she said to me at the time that the historian of the future would date the revolution of the Nineteenth century from the Gladstone coercion act. The current is running swift and strong—so swiftly and so strong that I doubt if the English parliamentary politicians themselves realize it. At the election which gave Lord Salisbury his majority the new democratic strength given by the extension of the franchise and the new distribution of seats was not fairly felt. It will tell in the next election and tell the stronger the longer the election is delayed. Beneath all these democratic influences at work, the diffusion of education, the effect of the board schools, is steadily changing the character of the English masses—inspiring discontent with existing social conditions and exciting hope for better things.

At a meeting in Mr. Saunders's office yesterday a strong desire was evinced to have the meeting in Paris proposed by our friend Flursheim changed to the middle of June instead of the first week in July. A telegram was sent to him, asking him to arrange for June instead of July. This morning he has replied that he will do so. In the middle of June the Whitsuntide holidays come and a good many Englishmen have more leisure than they have either before or after. In addition to this, these islanders, with their moderate climate, are afraid of the heat of Paris in July. I will let you know by telegraph as soon as the date is finally fixed, for among the great number of people who will be coming over from America to see the great Paris exposition there will doubtless be many of our friends. Arrangements are being made to run a special train and steamer to take a party of English land reformers over to the international meeting at Paris, and as the fare will be considerably cheaper it would be well for our American friends who are coming to England first to join this party.

HENRY GEORGE.

#### ONE TAX ENOUGH. (Third Article.)

Having analyzed the cases of large cities and entire states, fully settled and highly civilized, and found that the single tax is amply sufficient for all their needs, there remain for consideration small towns and villages and half settled states or territories, on the border of civilization.

It is said, with great confidence, that the land of these communities is of no value, and therefore that a tax upon this no-value land could not support government in these districts. Of course, if the assertion is true, the argument is conclusive. But the assertion is not true; and the argument would apply only to a very limited district, even if it were based upon truth.

No one lives permanently, within the dominion of any government, on land which has no value. Robinson Crusoe, living alone, occupied land which was of great utility to him; although it could not produce economic "value" (that is, value in exchange), until some one else came upon the island. But, until then, he had no government. When Friday landed, Robinson formed a government of one; and economic rent or land value began. The price which Friday was glad to pay, for permission to live on the island, was his rent; and that rent was, as we all know, amply sufficient to defray all the expenses of government. Wherever any government exists, it necessarily, in the very nature of things, assumes the ownership of all land within its limits, and economic rent at once begins. Between the govern-

ment and the citizen, any land, however poor, has economic value. The citizen who inflexibly insists that it has not, is invited to emigrate, and is forced to accept the invitation.

Although it is ideally conceivable that a state of things might exist, in which land might have no exchangeable value, as between private individuals, no one has ever known that state of things to exist, where even a hundred people live in civilized community together; and such a state of things, as between any government and any person living under that government, upon land permanently appropriated by him, is inconceivable.

Nor can the cost of necessary government for any community ever be greater than the economic value of its land. To say that it can is a contradiction in terms. How can any government be necessary, which costs more than the privilege of living under it is worth? And what is the cost of the privilege of living in any particular place, except the economic rental value of that place? It makes no difference how you assess the price of the privilege. A landlord can, if he chooses, fix his asking price for rent upon a computation of his tenant's personal property. If the price, thus fixed, is less than the economic rent, the tenant will gladly pay it, and bless the stars which gave him a fool for a landlord. If it is more, the tenant will move away, and the landlord will get nothing. The state can do no more. No one will pay more taxes than the privilege of residing within the jurisdiction of the state is worth. If any one pays less, he is better off than people who live in another place and pay full value. This difference is so much natural rent, which he puts into his own pocket or is compelled to pay to a private landlord.

Rent, therefore, is invariably sufficient to meet all the expenses of necessary government. But, as government never exists where society does not exist, and as society offers many advantages in addition to the mere benefits of government, the privilege of living in society is worth much more than the mere cost of government. This privilege is dependent upon the privilege of living within a tract of land in which society exists. Outside of such land, there is other land, with no society and no government. The difference between the value or no-value of the right to live on the desert and the value of the right to live in society is so much economic rent.

Rent, therefore, will at all times, in all places and in all circumstances, exceed the entire cost of necessary government.

But it can be perceived that a great central government finds it for the advantage of the whole nation to maintain much more complex and expensive government in Alaska, Wyoming and Idaho, than is really needed for the small number of people actually residing there. It therefore maintains territorial governments, at the expense of the more advanced states; not because Idaho needs so much government, but because New York, Chicago and St. Louis need to have new countries developed, faster than the residents of those territories need for their own benefit.

So great cities need costly roads through little villages, which would otherwise be satisfied with mule tracks. Roads ought to be a state charge; and it is now seen that the failure to treat them as such has been a disastrous mistake. The consequence of leaving roads to be managed by local authorities has been that not one road in a hundred, throughout the United States, is properly laid out or respectably maintained. The governor of Pennsylvania, in his last message, called attention to this notorious fact and suggested that roads ought to be taken under the control of the state.

The administration of justice should not be left to the control or the charge of small towns. Court houses and jails ought to be, at the very least, a county charge, if not furnished at the expense and under the supervision of the state. The state cannot afford to tolerate injustice within the limits of any of its townships; and while it may be that all these matters can be judicially left to the

control of large districts, like a county, it is not desirable that they should be intrusted to the control of each little township for itself. Consequently, the expense of court houses and jails should be provided and their management should be controlled by counties, if not by the whole state.

For similar reasons, schools should be maintained at the expense and under the control of large districts. It is no more for the interest of the State of New York to permit ignorance to prevail in the woods of Hamilton and Ulster, than it is for the interest of the United States to allow Mormonism to flourish unchecked in Utah. This is not a mere question of financial ability. There are many townships which have abundant means to provide for the proper education of their children, which, nevertheless, have but little interest in seeing the work done, and the residents of which are in fact so isolated from the rest of the world that they have no idea how such work is properly done.

The expenses of government will in the future more and more tend to centralization in counties, if not in states. Of course, it will never do for the state to pay the bills where it does not control the outlay. Whatever roads, courts, jails or schools are paid for by the state must be controlled by the state; otherwise townships which would receive all the benefit of expenditure would feel no direct interest in diminishing its burden.

Now, no one seriously maintains that the economic rent of any county in the thickly settled parts of the United States is not amply sufficient to defray all the expenses of government properly chargeable to that county, exclusive of federal taxes; and no one can successfully claim that any state, east of the Mississippi river, is so poor that its economic rent would not suffice to defray all its own government expenses, as well as the proportion of federal taxation which would fall upon it under the existing federal constitution, which apportions such taxes according to population, instead of according to wealth. It may be claimed that some of the very new and thinly settled states could not bear the burden of federal taxation on that basis, in addition to their own expenses, without trenching upon something besides economic rent; although, for the reasons above stated, I think even this highly improbable. It is quite certain that when taxation is adjusted, as it must be, in proportion to the economic rent of every state and county, the cost of government will not exceed, nor even equal, the amount of such rent in any county of the United States. When the burden of maintaining government is apportioned, as it also must be, between the states, counties, cities, townships and villages, in such manner as to relieve the smaller divisions from burdens which do not properly belong to them, there will be no longer any question in the mind of any reasonable man as to the sufficiency of economic rent, in every corner of the United States, to bear all the expenses of government, and yet to leave a generous margin for the encouragement of land holders.

To state the case again in another form, the whole matter can be summed up by saying that it is impossible that any government can be necessary, which costs more than the economic rent of the district which is called upon to pay for it; since that economic rent will always represent, to the fullest extent, not only all that such government is reasonably worth to the inhabitants of that district, but also the full value of all other advantages which they derive from human society, as it actually exists among them. Any pretended taxation which takes more from the people than this is robbery, not genuine taxation.

THOMAS G. SHEARMAN,

#### A Bill Worth Voting For.

Puck.

Lobbyist—Will you vote for my bill?

Legislator—Certainly not; I look upon your bill as a swindle.

Lobbyist—I fear you misunderstand me.

Legislator—On, of course; I see no possible objection to voting for such a bill.



## THE PETITION.

SINGLE TAX ENROLLMENT COMMITTEE,  
NEW YORK, April 16.

For some reason the past week has been a poor one for the receipt of petitions. This is doubtless due largely to the impossibility of promptly getting out tracts and new petitions among the new signers. It is not necessary to go into details to explain why this has been impossible, since it is sufficient to say that careful calculation proves to the committee that it cannot, with the income at its disposal, even temporarily increase its force, and if the work falls behind it must stay behind until the clerks are able to catch up; as they are able to do when there is a falling off in the enrollment.

We now have the wrappers written for nearly 7,000 new packages, and as soon as these go out there will doubtless be a revival of interest, since new workers will then begin canvassing for signatures, and of course they will reach new people unknown to the old workers. Many of the latter imagine that they have obtained all the signatures that it is possible for them to get, but in this most of them are mistaken, for the 1,590 signatures sent in by Robert Baker, of Albany, demonstrate that there is hardly a limit to the number that one energetic and determined man can obtain.

The enrollment now stands as follows:

Reported last week	47,167
Received during week ending April 16,	1,637
Total	48,804

This is 1,196 short of 50,000, and it is to be hoped that by Tuesday of next week a special effort will be made by our friends to bring the number over that. If by Tuesday, April 30, the number shall have reached 52,000, the committee will enjoy the satisfaction of knowing that it has in five months accomplished the task it had estimated in the beginning that it would take a year to perform.

After all, the only limitation in this work is the financial one. The present list has gradually grown from the Cleveland and Thurman enrollment. There were numerous other opportunities presented to the committee for making new starts that would have brought in thousands of new names, but we have simply had to pass them by. To fully utilize all the opportunities at our command would require thousands of dollars through public subscriptions, since the small number of people who have met the principal expense have done all that can reasonably be asked of them.

Mr. George over in England watches the growth of this movement with keen interest, and in a private letter, dated April 2, to the chairman of the committee, he says: "I am especially pleased to see the outside subscriptions begin to swell, as indicated by the report in the last STANDARD. The page devoted to the petition is, I am inclined to think, one of the most valuable in the paper. I think you are right as to the way in which this work is beginning to tell, but it seems to me that it is only in its beginning." If single tax men everywhere would appreciate this work as Mr. George appreciates it, the means at the committee's disposal would doubtless enable it to utilize all the opportunities offered it.

The contributions from the public (aside from payments of instalments by regular subscribers) during the week have amounted to \$31.87. This reduces the deficit in the committee funds caused by the failure of the public to meet the cost of the first distribution of literature to \$310.35. At this rate it will take a good while to make good the committee's advance toward this purpose of funds originally intended to maintain the general work. Furthermore the committee will next week send out literature to from 7,000 to 8,000 more signers, even if it is hereby compelled to further postpone other necessary work, such as sending out the circulars to "workers" and so on.

The contributions by the public, (aside from any payments by regular subscribers) have during the past week been as follows:

E. E. Stevens, Burlington, Iowa	30
Joseph H. Hill, Constant, Kan.	9 25
E. R. Embury, Mauch Chunk, Pa.	25
John Cairns, Hartford, Conn.	25
G. Landendorfer, New York City	1 00
Louis Lescaulier, Red Bud, Ill.	1 00
James H. Babcock, Norwalk, Conn.	1 00
William H. Ryan, Florence, S. C.	5 00
J. K. McGuire, Syracuse, N. Y.	8 00
George G. Guenther, Sycamore, Ill.	1 00
George H. Bates, River Falls, Wis.	5 00
G. L. A. Roberts, River Falls, Wis.	50
Charles Taggart, River Falls, Wis.	50
Wm. Brown, Philadelphia, Pa.	1 00
Thos. B. Ahrends, New York City	30
Fred. Heinzel, Tampa, Fla.	25

George W. Wood, Poplar, Mont.	3 00
Charles Voels, Brooklyn, N. Y.	20
	\$31 87
Previously acknowledged in THE STANDARD	3,586 08
Total	\$3,617 93

Wm. T. Croasdale, Chairman.

The following extracts are taken from a few of the large number of letters received by the committee during the week:

S. G. Trench, Akron, Ohio.—Soliciting signatures shows how rapidly the single tax doctrine is permeating society; not that men generally accept it as truth or fully understand it, but I find that almost every one I approach now has some idea, no matter how crude, concerning the single tax, whereas a year or so ago it was entirely unheard of except by a very few.

Benj. E. Bloom, St. Louis, Mo.—The interest in the single tax is steadily increasing, and manifestations of it crop out in the most unexpected places. Men who but a few months ago scoffed and sneered at us have become listeners, and they cheerfully sign the petition.

Herman Kuehn, Evansville, Ind.—I inclose two petitions, one signed by a Kansas City democrat who has not yet seen the menagerie, but wants congress to investigate and let him know, and the other by a Wisconsin man who was a republican until his eyes were opened by "Progress and Poverty." In sending me the signed blank he writes that he is in sympathy with the movement, notwithstanding that he is a landlord himself.

H. W. Juneman, Springfield, Mo.—I have been too busy of late in organizing labor to attend to my real duty as one of the single tax advocates. I allude to our "iniquitous system of taxation" wherever I meet a man of intelligence, and the people are beginning to inquire into it. Our news dealer is selling more STANDARDS than ever before.

Benjamin Hamer, Bartonville, Ill.—The single tax problem is beginning to wake up some of the people around here.

John Moore, Philadelphia.—Many sign readily and others want to know more about it. Since the last campaign the single tax idea has been spreading rapidly in Philadelphia.

James Cairns, Hartford, Conn., writes from Windsor Locks, saying: This little town is getting pretty well stirred up. The very high prices that men are asking for vacant land are making the landless think. I believe in a very short time this will be the greatest single tax town for its size in the country. Single tax discussion has been started and it cannot be stopped. It is surprising to see the change in discussion since the work of enrollment began.

B. Hartley, Pittsburg, Pa.—I make it a point to present the petition to all with whom I come in contact. When I go into a store to make a purchase I generally give the storekeeper some information about the single tax and in most cases bring his signature away with me.

Stephen Harris, Paulina, Ia.—One of these signers never heard of the single tax until April 5. He was a republican free trader and in fifteen minutes' talk was brought to see how the single tax would smash monopolies founded on land ownership. Another was until recently a tariff reformer, but the twine trust has caused him to read up, and now he is a free trader leaning toward the single tax.

W. H. Wilson, Memphis, Tenn.—During the last few days I have heard the single tax discussed more than ever before. I heard a real estate agent and some others discussing the subject on the street this evening and I gave them some tracts and asked them to sign the petition. They said they would read up on the subject first.

Robert Baker, Albany, N. Y.—I have talked with quite a number of farmers lately on the single tax. Although very few sign the petition on its first presentation, the majority promise to read up on the subject. I give them "Rings Case Plainly Stated" and Shearman's Ohio address, which they take eagerly.

Arthur H. Mendoza, New York.—In answer to a question I told one man that we proposed to do away with all taxes on industry. He asked if that was the Henry George theory, and I said "Yes." "Well," he said, "I will sign that petition as many times as you like." Before the last election this man would not tolerate a word concerning the single tax. Now he is thinking.

F. S. Arnold, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.—Our single tax club meetings are very interesting and well attended. We can instantly see growth in all directions. The Vassar Brothers' Institute, a literary and scientific institution of this place, has held two meetings lately. At one "Trusts" were discussed, and at the other "Ballot Reform." Many of our single tax men participated in the debate, and their speeches did much good. We are pushing the petition, trying to get more attendants at our club meetings, and distributing documents right along, and I think that we will have made quite a hole in the protectionists' majority before a great while.

George H. Bates, River Falls, Wis.—In my opinion the petition gives us the best opportunity for individual work yet devised. I find that if the request to sign be properly made very few refuse. I call attention briefly

to the inequality of our present system of distribution and I find that most people admit that humanity is sick and that but few doctors are practical in their recommendation of remedies. Nearly all are easily convinced of the propriety of an inquiry into the trouble. Of course I assure them that in signing the petition they do not commit themselves to anything beyond a request for investigation, I find the mere signing of their names has committed them to something, and to something of great moment to the worker whose time is too valuable to spend in fighting over and over again the same old chestnuts. The new signers seem to throw off at once their notion that they individually are responsible for the present iniquity and are bound to fight in its defense whenever it is assailed. They listen to the arguments in behalf of our system and frequently exclaim, "You're more than half right!" I have already sent you the names of half the voters in this place. We tried our best to have the legislature pass an amendment to our city charter giving us the privilege of exempting personal property and improvements from taxation. This petition was signed by two-thirds of our property owners. Our bill was introduced in the senate and referred to the judiciary committee who pronounced it unconstitutional. I think we shall know how to fix it next time.

## THE MANHATTAN SINGLE TAX CLUB.

W. T. Croasdale Address—Adoption of a New Constitution for the Government of the Club.

W. T. Croasdale delivered the lecture last Sunday evening, his subject being "Present progress and future methods." He told of the great headway the single tax movement had made in the United States, Great Britain and Australia since last November, saying, among other things, that the petition bureau had now the names and addresses of over 45,000 men in this country who were discussing the single tax, and that over 2,000 men were active workers in the cause. As to future methods, he counseled our standing between the two dominant parties as a balance of power, and assisting the one that would do the most toward forwarding our reforms. W. B. Estell will speak next Sunday evening on "How I became a free trader."

The club has revised its constitution. The election will be held under the Australian system; the officers will be a president, two vice presidents, two secretaries, a treasurer and a managing board of seventeen members. All are to serve six months. The managing board shall divide itself into the sub-committees necessary to carry on the business of the club. If at any time it appears that the board are not properly performing the duties assigned them, upon the passage of a vote of want of confidence after due notice, the board shall dissolve and a new board be elected. It is thought that this proviso will have the effect to keep all the committees of the club active.

The club has now an elegant bookcase, about seven feet high and six feet long, made of cherry wood. Mr. Everett has been putting in his idle hours on it, and a number of the members contributed a portion of the funds with which the materials were purchased. The balance will undoubtedly be soon subscribed, now that the case is on view.

The committee in charge of the late decimal "Progress and Poverty" meeting at Cooper union, at a recent meeting resolved "that the members of the committee should ask their clubs to consider the advisability of forming a single tax state league." Those clubs in the vicinity who were not represented on this committee, but who favor the idea are invited to send one, two or three representatives to the preliminary meeting, which will be held at the rooms of the Manhattan club, 8 St. Mark's place, on Sunday, April 21, at three o'clock.

## The Single Tax Fraud and Henry George's Visit.

London Justice (Socialist).—Mr. Henry George's campaign in this country is to start early in this month, and we trust that social democrats everywhere will use their best efforts to make it a conspicuous failure. On the 19th a meeting is to be held in the Brompton Town hall, and, though a price is charged for admission, this should not prevent those who have a clearer apprehension of the social problem and its solution than the prophet of San Francisco from attending, and, by question and argument, demonstrating the unsoundness of his theories. It should be clearly shown to these political tricksters who are engineering this "campaign," that it is too late in the day to gild the workmen with any scheme of mere tax reform.

For this is all that Mr. George's proposal amounts to. He is simply a tax reformer, nothing more. A change in the incidence of taxation would not be of the slightest possible benefit to the workers; it simply means shifting the burden of the maintenance of the public departments, etc., from one set of exploiters to the other, but the exploitation of the worker goes on all the same. When Mr. George first came to this country we welcomed him as an earnest though mistaken enthusiast. Though we regarded his economic conclusions as unsound, we imagined that he was thoroughly earnest in his desire to abolish landlordism, and to that extent we could agree with him and work with him. Now, however, he no longer desires to expropriate the landlord, but to make him pay the taxes which at present the two thieves—landlord and capitalist—have to pay between them.

## SINGLE TAX MEETINGS.

OMAHA, Neb.—The single tax men here have organized under the title of the Omaha single tax club, with the following officers: President, Percy Pepon, 1216 South Seventh avenue; secretary, C. F. Beckett, northwest corner Twenty-seventh and Blondo streets; treasurer, John E. Embury, 822 Virginia avenue. C.mitters have been appointed for active work. We hope to accomplish great things during the coming summer. The club meets every Sunday afternoon at two o'clock at Gate City hall, Douglas and Thirteenth streets. Ever single tax man in Omaha, Council Bluffs and South Omaha is urged to join our club at once. There is work and room for all. Will Phelps of Parkersburg, W. Va., attended our second meeting on Sunday, April 7, and made an able address. Mr. Phelps is one of the Parkersburg quartette who went ten miles into the country and captured a religious revival meeting for the single tax. He expects to spend the summer in Omaha, and will work with us.

PERCY PEPOON.

BALTIMORE, April 13.—At our regular meeting the following officers were elected for the ensuing three months: President, James Kelly, 519 South Paca street; treasurer, I. H. Wrightson, 415 West Eutaw street; secretary, John Salmon, 18 West Liberty street. We are now organized in good shape for active work, having secured permanent headquarters at 18 North Liberty street, where we hope to see the faces and to have the cooperation of all readers of THE STANDARD in Baltimore. JOHN SALMON, Secretary.

Parker Pillsbury of New Hampshire, the old time abolitionist, will address the Hudson county single tax league in Jersey City, in Cooper hall, on Thursday evening, April 18, in advocacy of the single tax. All persons interested are invited to the meeting.

NEPONSET, Mass., April 14.—After meeting awhile at private houses the Neponset single tax league has opened a public reading room, where single tax and other literature will be kept on hand. The room will be open every evening from 8 until 10. We hold our first public meeting Thursday evening, April 18. One of our local clergy who heard Mr. George lecture in Tremont temple, February 23, was much impressed. He says he shall improve the first opportunity to hear him again. Meanwhile he has secured his works and is reading up. There can be but one result. Another minister here, I am told, is about as far advanced. I am also informed that one leading republican who was a red-hot protectionist, has been talking strong single tax. The heaven is working.

Q. A. LOTHROP, secretary.

PROVIDENCE, R. I., April 14.—The Single tax association of Rhode Island held a special meeting on Sunday morning, April 14, and listened to a very interesting paper by Dr. L. F. C. Garvin of Lonsdale, on the probable effect of the application of the single tax system in Rhode Island. A lady in the audience, Mrs. Holmes, then related her experience in Missouri, on the border of Kansas, before the latter had been admitted to the Union of states, and deduced therefrom an argument in support of the single tax system. The next meeting will be held on Friday morning, April 19, at room 22 Shade building. Mrs. Holmes will address the association on Sunday evening, April 23.

GEO. D. LIDDELL, Secretary.

At a meeting held last week in Providence, R. I., William Lloyd Garrison addressed a large audience on "Henry George and the single tax." He made a strong speech, showing clearly the difference between the new political economy of "Progress and Poverty" and the current doctrine, and undoubtedly the meeting did much good.

## Notes from Foreign Newspapers.

The enthusiasm manifested at Mr. Henry George's meeting is in striking contrast to the decorous dullness of ordinary lectures.—[Christian Million.]

Whether Henry George is right or wrong in his economic thesis, he is now getting a hearing in England and wherever and whenever he seeks it. Should his theory be even as erroneous and mischievous as his opponents say, the law making landowners have themselves to blame for the progress of his agitation. The London household system alone is an abominable enormity, and a perpetual robbery, which will yet have to be dearly paid for, and all the Westminsters, Portmans and Bedfords will not be able to prevent it.—[Christian Commonwealth.]

## The New London Council Seeking Information.

New York Times.—Consul General Booker has written a letter in behalf of the new municipal authorities in London to State Controller Wemple at Albany, requesting that information be furnished in regard to the method here in use of ascertaining the value of city and agricultural land, irrespective of buildings and improvements. The council of London, the new legislative body to which the affairs of the great metropolis have been assigned, intends to make a thorough and systematic reform in the management of the city's business. Among other reforms intended is that of the present methods of valuation and assessment, and it is desired that the widest information on the subject be obtained. Consul General Booker has also written to other state governments in regard to the matter.



## OUR NATIONAL LIFE.

## HOW CAN IT BE MADE PERPETUAL?

On Sunday evening, February 3, Mr. John De Witt Warner delivered an address at the rooms of the Manhattan single tax club. The address opened with a consideration of the question, whether or not in the very constitution of nations are always found the causes of its certain decay, and whether decadence of national life is the natural and inevitable sequel of the acme of civilization. "What good does it do," asked Mr. Warner, "to labor for patriotic ends if their advance but hurries on inevitable disaster? On the other hand, what belief so inspiring to effort, so strengthening to self sacrifice, so developing of all that is generous and divine in humanity as that each step taken toward the free, the pure, the true in national life is progress won for all time?"

The speaker went on to say that in the case of many nations that have ceased to be, causes might be assigned for their decay that can not affect us. In one case it would be the enervating influence of the tropical sun, in another sterility of the soil and severity of the climate, while in others barbaric conquest may have swept the nations from existence. And there are other nations, he continued, of whom we can say that they decayed from causes which have been, or may be, operative in our own civilization in modern times, and it is from a study of the diseases that ate out the national life of such peoples that we may see our way to take practical steps toward the perpetuation of our own national existence and civilization.

Mr. Warner thus continued:

Of free peoples, dwelling in the temperate zone, whose state had the fullest opportunity to develop and decay, there are two whose history is familiar and whose experience is linked with our own—in the one case through our religion, in the other through the whole structure of our law, in both through a myriad ties of sentiment—that to-day, Celt or Teuton, in flesh, we are scarcely less the descendant of Israel and Rome. Of the first, through the development of that nation from the freed slaves who followed Moses, and the hardy warriors that Joshua led, to the wealth and splendor and power of Solomon's realm, the growing luxury and increasing misery under the later kings, and the dispirited and disorganized states that Assyria and Babylon reduced to vassalage, we have a continuous record for the whole nine hundred years thus comprised. Of the other we have in even greater detail the annals of its twelve centuries of national existence—from the clan confederacy on the seven hills till—kingdom, republic, empire—the bejeweled mistress of the world had become its bedazzled menial. What disease sapped the vitality of these peoples? Was it one to which we are liable?

## BIRTH OF THE ISRAELITISH NATION.

The national life of Israel sprang into being with the song of Moses and Miriam as the corpses of their oppressors, rolled to the shore by the Red sea waves, attested the end of Israel's slavery. A rude people, free and high spirited—herdsmen and farmers and every man a warrior—proud of its race, loyal to its God—though with crude ideas of His service and an irregular spontaneity of praise and sacrifice far removed from the Levitical law, recognizing at first no private property in land (which was allotted to the tribes by the national Sheik, and by the tribal chief among his clansmen), meeting in national convocation at the great feasts which marked the cycle of the agricultural year, it started on a career of development which reached its acme under Solomon five hundred years later. At first, as tribe after tribe of the nations about was conquered, the massacre of their adult males, the enslavement of their women and children and the allotment of their land among the victors, provided homes for the increasing numbers of Israel, the character of whose population but slowly altered. About the time of the founding of monarchy, inequality between free citizens and comparative wealth and poverty began to be prevalent. This increased as years went on; yet until the golden age of Solomon appeared, the steady expansion by conquest of Israel's borders and the constant distribution of fresh land to Hebrew freemen left but little excuse for poverty, and but little chance for oppression by the nobles, who were becoming great landlords and merchant princes. With the death of David the extension of the Hebrew state came to an end. The increasing population took on more and more of an urban character. The feeling of kinship between the tribes was lost, the feeling of loyalty to the throne died out, the old pride of race was weakened. A Tyrian princess sat on the throne of David, and alien priests misled the national devotion while Judah was yet free in name. The rich grew richer and the poor poorer; hovels and palaces, misery and luxury crowded each other. At length, with scarcely a struggle, the disorganized nation passed out of existence, and the Babylonian satraps brought more freedom to Jewry than it had enjoyed when left to itself. The Hebrew state owed its ruin to internal ills. What were these?

## THE CANKER AT THE ROOT.

Of the state of things in the eighth century

before Christ, Professor Robertson Smith, than whom there is no greater living authority, gives this summary:

Never had the national sanctuaries been more sedulously frequented, never had the feasts been more splendid or the offerings more copious. But the foundations of the old life were breaking up. The external prosperity of the state covered an abyss of social disorder. Profusion and luxury among the higher classes stood in startling contrast to the misery of the poor. Lawlessness and open crime were on the increase. The rulers of the nation grew fat upon oppression. These evils were earliest and most acutely felt in the kingdom of Ephraim where Amos declares them to be already incurable under the outwardly prosperous reign of Jeroboam II. With the downfall of Jehu's dynasty the last bonds of social order were dissolved and the Assyrian found an easy prey in a land already reduced to practical anarchy.

There is much of suggestiveness in this passage. The kingdom of Ephraim is referred to as specially subject to the evils noted. That kingdom went to ruin more than one hundred years before her sister realm of Judah met a similar fate. The dynasty of Jehu is referred to as the last that had a real hold on the people. Do you recall the origin of that dynasty? Ahab was one of the ablest and bravest of the tyrants of Israel. Wishing to enlarge his palace grounds, and failing to persuade Naboth, the owner of a small vineyard, to sell it, he had procured Naboth to be attainted for blasphemy and treason, and his land to be confiscated to himself. Stirred by this and similar outrages, and led by Elijah who repeatedly beard the monarch, the peasants made Ahab's reign a turbulent one, and in that of his son crowned Jehu king. His first act was to kill Ahab's heir and fling his dishonored corpse into Naboth's vineyard.

## ISRAEL'S RULERS ROLLED IN LUXURY WHILE HER PEOPLE STARVED.

We begin to get a glimpse of Israel's woe. But let the scripture tell the story, and let her prophets speak for themselves.

The speaker quoted from the Hebrew scriptures the description of the luxury that prevailed during the reign of Solomon. The minutest details are given in the sacred record of the construction of the house of the forest of Lebanon and of the similar house built for Pharaoh's daughter, of drinking vessels of pure gold used in these houses. We are told of the navy that brought him gold and silver, ivory and apes and peacocks from all portions of the then known world, until it was said that silver was as common as stone in Jerusalem and cedars as abundant as swamp swallows; while at the same time the nation as such was feared and respected by those about it. Yet the speaker pointed out that but a few pages later on was the record that treason was even then rife, that the rebel Jeroboam was already at the head of the popular party, and that Solomon's heir, on ascending the throne, was greeted by a national rising demanding relief from oppressive taxation. It was clear, however, that the Hebrew race was not falling behind in material civilization. Its princes intermarried with the royal houses of Egypt, Tyre and Syria. Its merchants were noted in the Sidonian markets, and there prevailed among the upper classes of Israel a refined effeminacy that was denounced and described by the prophets in language that might be used in describing the effeminate civilization of Rome in the days when decay had already set in. Then follows the denunciation of the wrath of God on these people because they trampled upon the poor, took exactions from him of wheat, swallowed up the needy and gave their whole minds to contriving how they might buy the poor for silver and the needy for a pair of shoes. The speaker quoted:

"Woe unto them that join house to house, that lay held to field, till there be no room," and recited the demands for the liberation of the Israelites enslaved by their fellows. Further came the story as found in the bible of the fulfillment of the prophecies, when Jerusalem was captured by Nebuchadnezzar and all the nobles of Judah slain, while the captain of the guard spared the poor and "gave them vineyards and fields." Then followed the re-settlement of Judah, which were as follows:

"As touching the land, it shall be to him, the prince, for a possession in Israel; and my princes shall no more oppress my people, but they shall give the land to the house of Israel according to their tribes. So shall ye divide this land unto you according to the tribes of Israel, and it shall come to pass that ye shall divide it by lot for an inheritance unto you and to the strangers that sojourn among you, which shall beget children among you, and they shall be unto you as the home-born among the children of Israel."

The remainder of the address was as follows:

## THE SIMPLE CAUSE OF ISRAEL'S RUIN.

It is plain enough, if we are to accept either the facts stated by the prophets or their opinion thereon, where lay the ruin of the Hebrew state. From the latter part of David's reign the rich had steadily grown richer and the poor steadily poorer, while the once homogeneous body of free warrior farmers had turned into a race of serfs, oppressed by effeminate nobles and unscrupulous speculators. At once the cause and the consequence of this status, a comparatively few wealthy land owners monopolized the land, and from

their castles plundered and oppressed the miserable peasants, cornering the grain market and by violence and fraud driving from their homesteads those whom poverty had not forced to sell. In the reign of Zedekiah, the last Hebrew monarch, the prophets had terrified the nobles into a promise to free their Hebrew serfs; but, the crisis over, these were again enslaved and—denounced by the prophets, hated by the common people—Zedekiah and his faithless nobles were easily routed by Nebuchadnezzar's general, who pacified the nation he had conquered by dividing its lands among its yeomanry.

Later on, Ezekiel in captivity elaborates a plan by which to the Jews, returning to Palestine, the land should be re-allotted, first to each tribe in perpetuity, next by lot, in perpetuity to him and his descendants, equally to each male, whether Jew or Gentile, that should have taken up his permanent residence in Jewry. With the law as to putative succession which obtained in the Hebrew economy, this practically guaranteed a perpetual holding of the land in small farms, worked each by its independent owner.

Here in Ezekiel, for the only time in the Old Testament outside of Leviticus, we find reference to the jubilee of the fiftieth year (an entirely different thing from the seventh year limitation for debt or personal slavery). This recalls another and perhaps the most striking of biblical references on this point. Without raising the mooted question—whether Moses had ought to do with the Pentateuch—it is universally admitted by both Christian and Hebrew scholars that the Old Testament was made up by Ezra or a later scribe, and that even the oldest of its books contains interpolated matter.

## A REMARKABLE PASSAGE IN BOOK OF LEVITICUS.

Of such additions few are more marked than that of the land jubilee and allied legislation, interpolated into the ritual of Leviticus. None could be more entirely out of place either in time or connection, than this, which inserts land law into the Levitical code and refers to notions of landed property alike foreign to the provisions of Exodus and Deuteronomy, and not developed among the Hebrew nation until generations later. But when we hear the warnings of the earlier prophets; when we see the curse under which Zedekiah's kingdom withered, and the despotic benevolence by which the Babylonian satrap pacified the miserable nation; when we read the plans that Ezekiel announced as those of God for securing such prosperity to Judah as withal national existence she could enjoy; when we recall that it is to Ezra the scribe (who, carrying out these plans, successfully reinstated his people and his religion in Judea) that we owe the compilation of the documents, old and new, that we know as the Old Testament canon, we find this piece of the mosaic of Leviticus all the more indubitably impressed with the divine sanction:

XXV. 8. And thou shalt number seven Sabbaths of years unto thee, seven times seven years, and the space of the seven Sabbaths of years shall be unto thee forty and nine years.

9. Thou shalt cause the trumpet of the jubilee to sound on the tenth day of the seventh month.

10. And ye shall hallow the fiftieth year, and proclaim liberty throughout all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof; it shall be a jubilee unto you and ye shall return every man unto his possession and every man unto his family.

15. According to the number of years after the jubilee thou shalt buy of thy neighbor and according to the number of years of the fruits he shall sell unto thee.

25. The land shall not be sold forever; for the land is mine; for ye are strangers and sojourners with me.

## BEGINNING OF THE ROMAN STATE.

Land monopoly and its train of ills had wrecked the Hebrew nation. How was it with Rome?

A band of the warrior farmers of Alba found the Palatine hill by the Tiber a more secure stronghold, and the valleys about it richer pastures than elsewhere near them; and, bunding their rude village, inaugurated the Roman state. As the Hebrews were divided into tribes, named from their clan ancestors, so at Rome the original Roman burghers were divided into the patrician clans that maintained their purity of descent and their national spirit, till the mighty pride of Roman citizenship well matched its only rival on earth, the Hebrew's intense pride of race. In primitive Rome there was no property in land, a part of which was allotted for tillage to the respective clans and the rest reserved as common pasturage for every Roman farmer. The hardy population steadily increased in number, but the widening circle of Roman conquests ever gave room for new distribution of lands, so that on the whole the number of free burghers living on their farms—each a warrior who in every battle fought for his home—steadily increased.

When Rome reached the acme of her power and rested, mistress of the world, her burgher body numbered 325,000. Hannibal, her greatest foe, had died 183 B. C.; Macedonia, the last remnant of Alexander's empire, had been subdued in 168 (Pydna). Carthage had been blotted out in 146 B. C., and henceforth Rome was free to settle her own state. At the then state of the republic, I read from Mommsen, admittedly the best authority in existence:

## WHEN ROME BECAME MISTRESS OF THE WORLD.

For a whole generation after the battle of Pydna, 168 B. C., the Roman state enjoyed a profound calm scarcely varied by a ripple

here and there on the surface. Its dominion extended over the three continents; the lustre of the Roman power and the glory of the Roman name were constantly on the increase; all eyes rested on Italy, all talents and all riches flowed thither; it seemed as if a golden age of peaceful prosperity and intellectual enjoyment of life could not but there begin. The Orientals of this period told each other with astonishment of the mighty republic of the west which subdued kingdoms far and near, so that every one who heard its name trembled, but which kept good faith with its friends and clients.

So it seemed at a distance; matters were a different aspect on closer view.

From a very early period the Roman economy was based on the two factors—always in quest of each other and always at variance—the husbandry of the small farmer and the money of the capitalist. The latter, in the closest alliance with land holding on a great scale, had already for centuries waged against the former class a war, which seemed as though it could not but terminate in the destruction, first of the farmers, and thereafter of the commonwealth, but was beaten off, without being decided, in consequence of the successful wars and the comprehensive and ample distribution of land for which these wars gave facilities.

Until nearly the close of the 6th century (151 B. C.), in fact, the continuous diminution of the small land holders of Italy was counteracted by the continuous establishment of new farm allotments.

But after the founding of Luna, 577 (177 B. C.), no trace of further assignation of land is to be met with for a long time, with the exception of the isolated institution of the Picennian Colony Auximum 597 (B. C. 157). . . . The capitalists continued to buy out the small land holders, or indeed, if they remained obstinate, to seize their fields without title of purchase; in which case, as may be supposed, matters were not always amicably settled. A peculiarly favorite method was to get the wife and children of the farmer from the homestead while he was in the field, and to bring him into compliance by means of the theory of accomplished fact.

In Etruria the old native aristocracy in league with the Roman capitalists had as early as 630 (131 B. C.) brought matters to such a pass that there was no longer a free farmer there. It could be said aloud in the market of the capital that the basis had their ruin, but nothing was left to the burghers save the air and sunshine, and that those who were styled the masters of the world had no longer a clod they could call their own.

Fr. in 585 (159 B. C.) when the census showed 325,000 burghers capable of bearing arms there appears a regular falling off, for the first in 600 (151 B. C.) stood at 324,000; in 607 at 323,000; in 623 (131 B. C.) at 319,000; an alarming result for a period of profound peace. If matters were to go on at this rate the burgher body would resolve itself into planters and slaves, and the Roman state might at length, as was the case with the Parthians, purchase its soldiers in the slave markets.

Such was the external and internal condition of Rome when the state entered upon the seventh century of its existence—600 a. u. c. (151 B. C.). Wherever the eye turned it encountered abuses and decay.

## THE LANDED RICH SHIFT THEIR BURDENS ON TO THE LANDLESS POOR.

This is the period of Rome's history that corresponds with the era of Solomon in Israel. What did Rome's patriots do? It was characteristic of Israel that in the weird anathemas of her prophets and the frenzied revolutions of her tribes the judgments of Jehovah were denounced and fulfilled against the tyrant who "ground the faces of his people," who "plucked the skin from off them, and their flesh from off their bones." It was not less characteristic of Rome that her statesmen sought by legislation to stop her decay.

Land greed had already caused, as we have seen, a crisis had arisen. On the one hand, the patricians who claimed the exclusive right to occupy the public lands had grown so lax in the payment even of the meagre land rent they had bargained to pay that its technical name *precarium* (whence our adjective "precarious") had become the synonym for whatever could not be depended upon; and oppressive direct taxation in the shape of task work, which fell hardest upon the poorer citizens, became necessary to the state. On the other hand, the capitalist landlords, by means of the terribly severe laws of debt not merely had many of the small farms mortgaged to them and their owners practically in serfdom, but actually had either imprisoned in debtors' prisons, or in slave gangs, working out their debts, so many of the Roman peasant farmers that when war came the legions could not be filled until the census temporarily suspended the debt laws and ordered liberated those already in prison. The farmers took their places in the ranks and conquered the foreign enemy. Then they returned from victory to the prisons and the slave gangs. The next year the legions were again called out, and the debt laws again suspended; but the wretched farmers refused to follow the consuls, and were only led to battle by a dictator in whom they had confidence. Again they conquered; and the legions turning their backs upon Rome, marched off to found a new city of the common people. Apparently the senate had never heard of the "wage fund" theory; for it sent no orators to explain to the sturdy laborers that they could not support themselves without the capitalists. On the contrary it yielded at once and enacted the legislation the oppressed farmers demanded. This legislation included three provisions: First, an amelioration of the laws of imprisonment for debt; second, the relief of landless citizens by allotments of small



farms from the public lands, and third, the right of the people to be perpetually represented by two tribunes, officials elected annually, whose veto was to be as absolute as was the command of the consuls.

#### THE TRIBUNES OF THE PEOPLE.

Thus, in the revolt of the land-robbing citizens of Rome, originated the office which, unique in its character and perhaps most famous of all Roman institutions, is to-day a synonym of the loftiest ideal of popular sovereignty—the tribunate of the people. Proud of the origin of the office, the parchment on which was written the law, was deposited in the temple of Ceres, the patron goddess of husbandry, while the hill on which the plebeians had encamped while they treated with the senate was afterwards known as the Holy Mount.

Thus much had the Roman citizens in arms won from the Roman capitalists. But the revenues of the state were still cramped. Much of the best of the Roman land was still used in great tracts by patrician landlords and plebeian capitalists, who paid little or no rent to the state. Spurius Cassius, himself a patrician, than whom none at Rome stood higher in rank or renown, avowing the injustice and the bad policy of such a state of affairs, submitted to the burgesses a proposal to have the state lands surveyed, so as to find out how much each had, to distribute part to needy citizens, and have an equitable rent charged for the rest. Land monopolists were then much the same as now. Imagine a government officer turning off cattle kings or lumber thieves from the public land of the United States, in order to parcel it in homesteads to emigrants, or measuring just how much each land grabber had fenced in, so as to estimate how much he should pay the government for its use, and you don't need to be told what became of Spurius Cassius. He was promptly killed and buried; and the patricians gave out that they had made way with him because he was trying to make the people love him, so as to be crowned king.

Among the redeeming points of the old Roman patricians—the toughest, brainiest race that ever lived—was their regard for their word and respect for the law. They killed their colleague Cassius because he took the people's part. But law was law, and the tribunes of the people were respected and their persons, during their tribunate, held inviolate. In the year 367 B. C. the Tribunes Licinius and Sextius proposed that no burgess should pasture on the state lands more than one hundred oxen and five hundred sheep, or till more than three hundred acres of the public lands; and that each landlord should employ a certain proportion of free laborers as distinguished from slaves. When we reflect that the ordinary farm allotted to a Roman citizen was only about eighteen acres, it is seen how far this proposition was from being a radical one. But, though it was joined with other measures designed to secure, and which did secure it some support among the landed class; though the Tribunes could, and did, fearlessly use their vetoes to force the senate to give way, it took eleven years of dogged persistence—during which the rich and the poor faced each other foot to foot and eye to eye—before the law passed. It took a good while to tire out Romans. But when this tug of war was over, they built a temple of Concord as a memorial that this time they had had enough of domestic strife.

#### A NATION OF LANDLORDS AND SLAVES.

A steady career of victory and comparatively continuous land allotments kept the Roman state prosperous till about the period of external prosperity and internal dissolution which I have mentioned; when Rome, mistress of the world, was fast becoming a nation of great landlords and slaves. That in profound peace, and with luxury increasing about them, the free population should be steadily decreasing and misery spreading among the people, again startled Roman statesmen as it had generations before. Then the people had in great measure wrought out their own salvation. Now they were less able to do so. They must seek a champion.

At the head of patrician clans stood the Cornelian gens, which for centuries had been the incarnation of Roman virtue and Roman pride, and upon which honors had never showered more thickly than now. Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus had closed the second Punic war at Zama, had subdued Spain and had conquered Antiochus. He had given his daughter Cornelia in marriage to Tiberius Gracchus, consul and censor, a man of the purest honor and a model of a Roman aristocrat, as well as a great general who had merited grandly of his country. He died leaving two sons and a daughter, all of tender years, to the care of their mother. She refused the hand of the king of Egypt, and so devoted herself to rearing her children in memory of her husband and father, that her motherly pride has passed into a proverb. Of her two sons, Tiberius, the elder, of gentle and quiet disposition, had won public commendation for his valor at the storming of Carthage before he was eighteen, and he married the daughter of Appius Claudius, the head of a family only second to the Corneli in honor and pride. As their ruin became more and more imminent, the wretched peasants instinctively looked over the heads of their oppressors, and appealed to these leaders of the aristocracy whom they knew to hold their slave-driving landlords in fathomless contempt. As years went by many a placard, stealthily posted,

called upon the grandson of Africanus to think of the poor people and the deliverance of Italy; and in 620 A. U. C. (134 B. C.), at the age of twenty-six, Tiberius Gracchus was elected tribune of the people.

#### TIBERIUS GRACCHUS.

Accepting the responsibilities of the office, he promptly endeavored to fulfill them; and at once proposed that all the state lands, occupied and enjoyed by possessors without remuneration to the government, should be taken possession of by the state; except that each occupier might reserve for himself 300 acres beside 150 acres for each son, but not to exceed 600 acres in all, in permanent and guaranteed possession, besides receiving pay for any improvements he had made on lands which the government retook; and that the government should then distribute the state land, in parcels of eighteen acres each, as inalienable inheritable leaseholds to deserving citizens, who should bind themselves to till them and pay a moderate rent to the state; also that a standing commission of three men should be appointed for this work of resumption and distribution. In other words, far from urging a radical measure, Gracchus proposed practically to give each patrician a square mile of land to which he had no right, and pay him for all his improvements made without right upon other public lands, as a condition of distributing the rest of the public land in little farms of eighteen acres to needy citizens eager to till them. But the moderation of the law did not help it. The senate and the landlords fought it tooth and nail and so worked upon Octavius, the colleague of Gracchus in the tribunate, that, instead of helping to push the law, he interposed his veto against the people whom he represented, and forbade the votes being cast. Gracchus retorted by stopping all business in the government offices, and sealing up the public treasury. Again and again the people were called together to vote on Gracchus' proposal. Each time the other tribune stopped the voting. Gracchus publicly debated the law in the senate, but that body refused to act. At last he appealed to the people to depose either his colleague or himself; they responded by removing Octavius from the Tribune's bench. The law was then passed and the commission appointed.

#### APPIUS CLAUDIUS AND CAIUS GRACCHUS.

The landlords dared not attack Gracchus while in office as a tribune of the people. But the office lasted only one year. The time for election was close at hand, and it was plain that not merely the cause of the people, but Gracchus' own life depended on his re-election. The people met to elect tribunes and were casting an almost unanimous vote for Gracchus, when Octavius stopped the election. The people came next day and commenced voting for Gracchus. Again Octavius stopped the election. The assembly broke up almost ready for rebellion, and the next day the senate met. Gracchus was present in the exercise of his office. The debate grew more and more bitter. Finally Gracchus' life was demanded, the senate turned into a mob, and, seizing the stools on which they sat, murdered him on the steps of the capitol and flung his corpse into the Tiber.

Tiberius Gracchus was dead, but his law survived, and the senate did not dare obstruct its operation. The commissioners had originally been himself, his brother Caius, only twenty years of age, and his father-in-law, Appius Claudius; and when Tiberius was murdered Caius' father-in-law was put in his place. Indeed, the murder of Gracchus may have caused such a reaction as rather aided the commission, which kept fearlessly and vigorously at work. The results were promptly seen. The number of Roman burgesses had been diminishing for years before the law was passed, and in the year after, just before its effects were felt, stood at the lowest point for a generation—three hundred and nineteen thousand. Six years later the census showed 395,000, an increase of 76,000 Roman burgesses within that time. But the commission's work became harder and harder, the aristocratic party regained strength, and the old troubles again arose, when in 631 A. U. C. (123 B. C.) Caius Gracchus stood for the tribunate and was elected at an extraordinarily large meeting of the burgesses.

Only thirty years of age, like his brother, a distinguished soldier before he was twenty, spurred by contempt for the nobles, pity for the wretched peasantry, and family pride, and with his brother's murder constantly before his eyes, he commenced a career in which, during two short years—cowering the senate and stirring the burgesses by such oratory as had never before been heard by a living Roman—working as though every hour was the last in which to accomplish his purpose—loved as never before had man been loved by the people for whom he wrought, he fairly remodeled the Roman state. Among other laws he carried one to distribute to needy Roman colonists lands in Africa and Spain, and himself heading the commission to allot them was absent in Africa, when by the interference by the other tribune his re-election was prevented. Hastening back to Rome, he arrived just as the vote was taking on a law to forbid proceeding with the African colony. His appearance stirred a tumult. Accused of sacrilege, he and his followers took refuge on the Aventine, which the senators and mercenarying government pay stormed the next morning. Gracchus was killed and three

thousand of his followers strangled in prison; while in memory of the "peace" thus assured a new and splendid Temple of Concord was erected with the confiscated estates of Gracchus and his supporters.

#### THE END OF ROME'S LIBERTY.

Whether it was not too late to save Rome, even had the Gracchi been spared, may be a question. It is certain, however, that with the death of Caius the republic was doomed. So terribly did events mock the patricians that from the time of the dedication of the new temple of Concord, thus reared in the blood of the people, civil dissension steadily increased till there broke out a fearful civil war; and Rome never saw peace again till, her liberty gone forever, Sulla at the head of his army ended the republic and "quieted" the city by wholesale slaughter of her senators and capitalists.

What might have happened to Judah had her land monopolists not ruined the kingdom; what might have been the career of Rome had landlordism not impoverished her people—these are comparatively unimportant questions to us. We know that "landlord rot" was the ulcer from which they died. Are we in America subject to this disease? If so how can we escape the fate they met?

We are in the third century of our development. Starting in hardy colonies of husbandmen, during all these generations our advancing frontiers have been ever opening new lands to our multiplying population, until now the east and west have met, and our virgin soil is practically occupied from ocean to ocean.

#### SHALL WE TOO PERISH?

Until lately there has been land to spare for our citizens; and, with the fertile prairie at hand, wide spread poverty has been as needless as wide spread oppression has been impossible. But what are the signs of the times? During the last decades has not agriculture been less and less prosperous? In the older states has not the independent rural population actually decreased, and have not our cities grown crowded with the miserable and discontented? Have not the rich grown richer, and the poor poorer? Is not our population stratifying into mutually jealous classes? If the tendencies in these directions and the acceleration of the rate at which they have developed in the past generation are continued to another generation will not our statesmen have to deal with a proletariat as much more dangerous than that of Rome as the resources of modern science are more deadly than those of ancient warfare? Are not the twin fiends of anarchy and monopoly already grappling in a contest for headship among us? In the light of experience are we not doomed, unless the congestion of misery about the luxury of our cities is relieved by increasing the number of our independent farmers and homestead owners? Under our present laws is not the tendency hopelessly in the opposite and fatal direction? And must we not stop by new legislation the drifting of our ship of state if she is not to be broken on the reefs where her predecessors have gone to pieces? We are warned in better time than they. They were roused only when a dominant class of landlords had reduced the mass of people to misery and comparative servility. That is not so here. Although to-day all our land is "owned" before one-fifth is tilled, our landowners are not yet monopolists as a class. It is the development, rather than the antagonism, of classes that is ominous with us. Wrongs there are to be righted, but it is the tendency rather than the status of our institutions that menaces our future. What are we to do?

#### WHERE THE REMEDY LIES.

The immediate end to be attained is not in doubt. It is to secure the thorough culture of our soil. That means abundant and cheap food and clothing for centuries yet to come. And it is also to secure that this tillage be done by free citizens—by heads of families each on his own small farm. That means a vigorous, free and happy people.

Experience has shown that in this respect the laissez faire—let alone—tendency is toward the steady growth of large holdings to the destruction of small farms, to the constant increase of hirelings and tenants, and the ruin of small land owners, to the growth of imposing but baleful aggregates, estates and municipalities—till the misery within them maddens the proletariat—till the luxury within them has emasculated the landowners, and with a social cataclysm they are shattered from within. Then, with more or less of a return to primitive conditions, the same process recommences with the petty tracts into which the land is again divided. Fair without and rotten within, engulfing the forces of freedom as they grow, but after all simply transferring them to their centers as growing magazines of anarchy, these cankers of the body politic are inevitably fatal if left to take their course.

The history of such aggregations—feudal, municipal, national—is therefore of cycles, in which every step of growth contributes its share to the forces which are to rend the organism, and in which barbaric freedom and equality alternate with tyranny resting on wretchedness. Whether in ancient times, when man's conquest of natural forces and use of machinery was practically unimportant, or in the England and America of to-day, where that conquest and that use are so advanced as seemingly to dominate the character of progress, we find precisely the same series. Where a people is more or less thor-

oughly paralyzed as in India or China the process may be slower—its character is the same. If national life is to be anywhere perpetual, if our nation is to be lasting, this end must be attained by the enforcement of such legislation as will counteract the tendency outlined.

#### THE GREAT FUNCTION OF GOVERNMENT.

If any function of government is legitimate, it is certainly this—to direct, for the good of the race, forces, that guided solely by individual interest are destructive of the common weal. Just as government has substituted the system of criminal law for the anarchy of private revenge, just as it has established among us the institution of Christian marriage and the far reaching organism of the family group instead of the confusion of Sodom and the polygamy of the patriarchs, it not merely has the right, but it is confronted with the duty, of solving the far less delicate but equally far reaching problems involved in what is called the "land question."

Were this question only that of what should have been done by the American congress when, a hundred years ago, the American nation started on its career, it would be comparatively an easy one. Had the course been taken as to its public lands by which the law of Leviticus, too late to save the Hebrew nation, did conserve the Hebrew community for five hundred years after the nation was no more; had the plan been adopted by which the Gracchi arrested for a time the downward career of Rome; had such legislation been enforced as, under the Tudors and Stuarts, disobeyed by the landlords of England, has left that land one of princes and tramps, but which, obeyed in the little Isle of Wight, raised in less than two generations a sturdy yeomanry that met and broke the last formidable French invasion of Britain, our central and western states would be to-day filled by a prosperous population of small farmers, each thoroughly tilling his small farm and paying to the government an insignificant ground rent, subject to no taxation whatever, and enjoying public improvements to a degree utterly utopian as the possibility now stands. Such a birthright no nation ever before had—such waste no spend-thrift heir ever before committed. Our heritage is gone—given away in lavish grants to more or less deserving private citizens—donated in principalities to private corporations. We cannot retake it without a revolution. But that revolution is coming as certain as sunrise, unless we avert it. Thus impoverished, thus confronted, what is there left to do?

#### WHAT WOULD DESTROY LAND MONOPOLY.

I need not stop to answer those who "deprecate agitation." The anathema of the patriots to whom we owe our national existence, the denunciations of the prophets and the curse of the Almighty have alike blistered the complacent palterers who cry "Peace, peace, when there is no peace." Nor will I take time in refuting or even detailing sundry quixotic schemes that have been suggested. I know of but one that to-day has even standing room in the forum of American opinion, and that is the single tax upon land values.

Let me not be misunderstood. I am well aware that the promoters of the single tax idea do not propose as their ultimate aim the settlement of our rural population (now at a standstill in many quarters, and fast retrograding in others; but which must increase if our national life is to be preserved) on homesteads averaging twenty acres or so of tillable land each, which shall never, to any large degree be combined into large private holdings. I know too, that they have other aims, of which some are plainly beneficent, of the results of others of which I am less certain. But I cannot doubt but that assessing all taxes upon land values solely would put an effective penalty upon monopoly in land and would remove many of the obstacles, direct or indirect, to its use by the myriad forms of industry. The inevitable result would be to prepare the way for such further legislation as will formulate, and so to educate public opinion as shall cause it to support, some system which, insuring the perpetuity and prosperity of the free yeomanry of America, as against any catastrophe which we can foresee, shall endow our American institutions with immortality.

There is no time to speak here in detail of the obstacles in the way, of the series of steps by which this, as well as every other great end, is to be attained, or other kindred benefits in other regards that these steps will bring. They must be taken one by one, as the intelligence of the people is further and further enlisted. The end is the liberty of the race. It seems to me that it must come, first, in that unshackling of commerce that is involved in freedom of trade, next in that liberation of industry that would come with exemption from taxation of the products, the materials and the tools of labor. To be sure, the end is not there. But as sure as we are at the foot of the throne from which rules a beneficent Providence, so surely, as we ascend, shall the cloud which now hides all but the steps just before us ever part to disclose the further ones we are yet to take.

#### HUMANITY'S GUERDON OF LOVE AND REMEMBRANCE.

It was Elijah, chief of Hebrew prophets, foremost champion of the Hebrew peasants, whom the disciples saw, standing with Moses companion of the glorified Christ. And to-day throughout Syria, whenever a petty despot grinds his subjects to frenzy, they call



on Elijah to hasten his return to the land, whence, as living tradition still asserts, he is yet to drive tyrants and unbelievers. The Roman aristocrats murdered the Gracchi and forbade even their mother to wear mourning for her dead; but about the spots where they fell guards had to be set to keep the people from worshipping their memory. Thither came the oppressed poor to invoke the gods; there, whenever their anniversaries grew near, were strewn flowers in their remembrance. Through all history, in every civilized land, the Gracchi have stood as the types of those who gave themselves for their race. "Tribune of the people" has become the proudest title a grateful nation can give its patriots; and to Cornelia "the Mother of the Gracchi," has been given a place in popular memory next to Mary "the Mother of Christ."

Such is the guerdon with which the love and remembrance of humanity honors the memory of patriots who died thousands of years ago for nations they failed to save. What of love and fame does not await those who, inspired by their example, and taught by their failure, shall live in the grateful memory of endless generations of the nation which they shall have made immortal?

### IN HONOR OF JEFFERSON.

#### The Central Single Tax Club of Brooklyn Holds a Public Meeting—Eminent Speakers.

A large meeting was held in Historical hall, Brooklyn, under the auspices of the Central single tax club, last Saturday, April 13. It was the anniversary of Jefferson's birthday according to the revised calendar. The New Yorkers celebrated on April 2, choosing the "old style" date. The committee that had charge of the Brooklyn meeting was composed of Frank P. Rand, Edwin A. Curley, George White, J. W. H. MacLagen, G. W. Thompson, Theodore Atworth, John Jeffcott, Charles Cooper, John Hickling, Horatio Camps, Peter Aitken, George N. Olcott, Benjamin Reese, M. O. Newman, N. L. Voorhees, J. T. O'Neill, E. O. Roscoe and R. C. Ufers.

Thomas Aitken called the meeting to order, and introduced as chairman Edwin F. Shepard. In his address Mr. Shepard complimented the single tax club for attempting to bring together all who were willing to honor Jefferson's memory, and for permitting other than single tax men to speak from the platform. He said:

We say God speed to every free and open discussion by clubs like that which assembles us here to-night. We say God speed to every assertion of the equality in privilege of men. We say God speed to every appeal to the memory and influence of the American who, even if there were not before him the precise questions of to-day, still more powerfully and more fruitfully than any man in any land or age dwelling in exalted political life taught the root of the whole matter.

Rev. Dr. Charles H. Hall, rector of the Holy Trinity Protestant Episcopal church, was the next speaker. He delivered a fine oration on Jefferson, his life, character and philosophy. At the close he said:

The mind settles back of itself on that profound philosophy of charity, that there is a religious life under creeds, where "thoughts and wills are weighed," or that again it is "the righteousness rather than the rightfulness of opinions" which marks and measures our responsibility. The latter is often the accident of environment, the other is the mark of our religious sense. Jefferson shrank always from influencing others by any special notions of his own. He has stamped forever on the world the influence of his inspiration concerning the equal rights of all men. Happy were we that the earnest, studious, industrious, skillful and fearless sage of Monticello, with inspired pen and busy brain, was always ready and able to utter the right word in its season, and also as ready to be silent that others might speak; great in committee, in foreign embassy and in the chair of president; greater still in his peaceful retirement of his mountain home. Of no one of the statesmen who are the great representative men of 100 years ago, whose lives are our common education, and whose deeds become our legacy of inspiring patriotism, may these familiar lines of Leigh Hunt be quoted more truly than of Jefferson:

Exceeding peace had made Ben Adhem bold, And to the presence in the room he said: "What writest thou?" The vision raised its head,

And, with a look made all of sweet accord, Answered: "The names of those who love the Lord."

"And is mine one?" said Abou. "Nay, not so,"

Replied the angel. Abou spake more low, But cheerily still, and said: "I pray thee, then,

Write me as one that loves his fellow men."

Thomas G. Shearman followed. His discourse was mostly on the line of the single tax theory.

Frederick W. Hinrichs, an ex-member of the board of education and a public spirited democrat, was the last speaker. He spoke of the great service wrought by such men as Jefferson, Washington and Adams at the critical period in which they lived. "But for these great and glorious men would we have had the Declaration of Independence," he said; "would we have had the revolution? No, most emphatically not. Jefferson was a man who stood for his convictions. Have we a man to-day in politics who will take this stand?"

The speaker looked for such a man among those who, with the courage of their con-

victions, were pushing forward the single tax cause and the fight against monopoly. "Henry George," he said, "thinks he has found a remedy for many political ills, and his thoughts and opinions are not to be despised. He may be right. (Long continued applause.) I wish to advise the young men to study the pages of history. If read aright the history of the past is our guide for the future. Follow in the footsteps of Thomas Jefferson and the other great men of strong convictions. Study earnestly the good of the country, not of any particular class, but of the people at large, and follow at all times your honest convictions."

### TO SPREAD JEFFERSON'S PRINCIPLES.

#### Governor Black Describes the Work Laid Out for the Democratic Societies.

The New York World a few weeks ago contained an interview with Governor Chauncey F. Black, president of the National association of democratic societies, on the aims and objects of that great organization and its growth in numbers and influence. Among many other interesting things, Governor Black said:

The revival of the democratic societies of our forefathers, now so rapidly taking place, was a natural consequence of the general recurrence of the democratic party to the principles of Mr. Jefferson. This recurrence was seen in many of the most important state papers of the last administration, in the convention which nominated Mr. Cleveland, in the various state conventions of the party, and in all the democratic club conventions in every part of the country. There seems to be a universal apprehension among democrats of the imperative duty, not to say necessity, of turning back to the original standards of doctrine. And this tendency has been growing for at least ten years. Previous to 1884 it found partial expression in the organization of numerous Jefferson democratic associations for the study and exposition of Mr. Jefferson's teachings. One of the most active and influential of these was organized at York in 1872. Its declaration of objects has been transferred almost bodily to the constitution of the National association of democratic clubs.

Under these circumstances the revival of the democratic societies was a logical and almost inevitable proceeding. When the state convention of democratic clubs assembled at Harrisburg in May, 1888, the suggestion that, having, without dissent in the party, formally and solemnly recurred to the fundamental principles enunciated and maintained by Mr. Jefferson, we should now, also, recur to the Jeffersonian form of organization for popular instruction and agitation, was received with unanimous approbation. It was especially appropriate that this movement should begin in Pennsylvania, because in this state some of the most energetic and powerful of the democratic societies of the last century were located, and some of the most illustrious of our revolutionary characters were associated with them.

The Democratic society of Pennsylvania was accordingly formed. And it has up to date done more valuable work with a smaller force and less money than any political organization ever did before.

In the country these institutions found an acceptance as ready and as cordial as they did nearly an hundred years ago, when our forefathers came together in these sober and dignified, albeit extremely earnest, popular assemblies, for the defense of their rights against the encroachments of the federalist tyranny of that day. The voting of November last shows that it is the farmers, the farm laborers, and the village people, who must be enlightened and a large percentage of their votes changed before we can be assured of the success of tariff reform or of democratic candidates. For this purpose the democratic society is, as Mr. Cleveland expressed it, "the most efficient agency ever devised."

Such people, steady, staid, for the most part highly religious, will have nothing to do with "clubs," a name too often associated with excesses of various kinds. Nor are they willing to give of their money or their time to idle parades and their attendant waste in foolish show and noise. But the democratic society, time-honored, as the method of action employed by the fathers of the republic and of the democratic party in their struggles with the same unscrupulous federalism which confronts us to-day, and, as a sober, deliberative assembly—a sort of open parliament of the people, instinct with the spirit of local liberty—is most attractive to them. Permanent, its proceedings conducted under fixed rules, and, in most cases, published to the world, it affords a field for local talents scarcely exceeded by legislature or congress.

It will like the democratic society of Jefferson's time, discuss, agitate, and arouse the people to the perils of their situation. It will promote the study of fundamental principles, and disseminate them, through these neighborhood parliaments, where every citizen may be heard as freely, and, if he has that to say which justly demands public attention, with as much influence and power, as if he were speaking in the legislature or in congress. It will print; it will sow the country with documents; it will educate a swarm of speakers and writers in the true principles of re-

publican government; it will educate the people to teach themselves their rights and their duties; it will array the democratic party in harmonious union upon the creed of their forefathers and place it in solid column upon that "road which," in the language of Mr. Jefferson, "alone leads to peace, liberty and safety."

We may differ about minor details of tariff legislation. But every man of us, big or little, learned or unlearned, holds with Mr. Jefferson that government under our republican constitution cannot, and must not, levy tribute upon one class of citizens solely for the aggrandizement of another class, and that the many shall not be made the slaves of the few by a cunning system of taxation which transfers the hard earnings of the former to the overflowing coffers of the latter. Up to and upon that line, at least, we all stand together. Let us, in the spirit of Jefferson, fight that fight and win it for our country and its plain people, and we can postpone differences until we reach a question upon which the authority is not clear and our duty is not plain.

### Open Air Meetings in New York, Massachusetts and Connecticut.

ALBANY, N. Y.—The single tax men of this city contemplate starting our fellow worker Matthew Kirsch on an open air lecture tour. He is a strong and lucid speaker and knows his subject, especially the tariff part of it, like a book. He could go through eastern New York, Massachusetts and Connecticut, and might speak every night to open air meetings, arranging it so as to reach a big town every Sunday. The only cost to the places where he spoke would be his traveling expenses. Of course the carrying out of this plan will depend in a great measure upon the responses received from single tax men in the territory above mentioned. As it is proposed to start on May 1, we should like to hear at once. It is not necessary that an organization should exist, but only that two or three men should work together to make the necessary arrangements. Mr. Kirsch has had considerable experience in this line of speaking. He stumped the western part of the state for the greenbackers in 1876, and was engaged by the democratic state committee to make tariff reform addresses during the last campaign.

All those who favor this idea, are requested to communicate at once with the undersigned, from whom any information upon this subject can be obtained.

ROBERT BAKER,  
178 Madison avenue.

### Why He Isn't Neighborly.

Chicago Tribune.

Uncle Sam—See here, Pedro, what's the reason we can't be neighborly? Now, I've got some things I'd like to sell you, and I feel it to be my duty—

Don Pedro (of Brazil)—Hang your duty.

### SINGLE TAX MEN.

The following list contains the names and addresses of men active in the single tax cause in their respective localities, with whom those wishing to join in the movement may communicate:

Akron, O.—Jas R. Angier, 109 Allen street.  
Albany, N. Y.—Robert Baker, 178 Madison avenue; J. C. Roslett, 22 Third avenue; or James J. Mahoney, secretary Single Tax Cleveland and Thurman club, 25 Myrtle avenue.  
Alhambra, Cal.—Mr. Josephine Snahr.  
Altoona, Pa.—Joseph Sharp, jr., secretary Single tax club, 411 Tenth street; Albert C. Ronzee, 924 First avenue.  
Amsterdam, N. Y.—Harvey Book.  
Annapolis, Md.—C. Carroll W. Smith, office Anacostia tea company, Harrison and Monroe streets.  
Anaheim, Cal.—James B. Hays.  
Antioch, N. M.—Lewis T. Gramam.  
Ashtabula, Ohio.—A. D. Strong.  
Atlanta, Ga.—John C. Reid, lawyer, 25 1-2 Marietta street.  
Auburn, Me.—H. G. Casey, secretary Single tax club.  
Auburn, N. Y.—Daniel Pracek, president; H. W. Benedict, secretary Single tax club, College hall.  
Augusta, Ga.—L. A. Seemundt, 525 Lincoln street.  
Avon, N. Y.—Homer.  
Baldwin, N. Y.—L. J. Feeney, 63 Milton avenue.  
Baltimore, Md.—John V. Jones, 125 N. Bond street; John Salmon, 418 N. Eutaw street; Dr. Wm N. Hill, 1433 E. Baltimore street.  
Baltimore, N. Y.—Matthew C. Kirsch.  
Bayside, Long Island, N. Y.—Antonio M. Monna.  
Beverly, Ill.—William Matthews, secretary Tariff reform club.  
Bridford, Pa.—J. C. De Forest, secretary Land and labor club, 26 Newell place.  
Bristol, Ark.—W. F. Brokaw.  
Binghamton, N. Y.—E. W. London, 33 Maiden lane.  
Boston, Mass.—Edwin M. White, 24 Maiden street; Charles J. R. Roche, 29 Converse avenue; Mahlen; Hamilton Garland, chairman Single tax league, Jamaica Plain.  
Brooklyn, N. Y.—George E. West, M. D., 49 Clermont avenue, president Single tax club.  
Burlington, Iowa.—James Love, bookseller, or Richard Spencer.  
Cambridgeport, Mass.—Wm A. Ford, 106 Norfolk street, secretary Single tax organization.  
Camden, N. Y.—H. W. Johnson, P. O. box 265.  
Canon City, Col.—Frank P. Blake, M. D.  
Canton, O.—S. J. Harcourt, M. D., president single tax club.  
Cape May City.—Wm Porter, box 57.  
Chamberlain, Dak.—James Brown.  
Charles City, Iowa.—Irving W. Smith, M. D., office opposite Union house.  
Chicago, Ill.—Frank Pearson, 45 La Salle street; T. W. Wither, secretary single tax club, 426 Milwaukee avenue.  
Cincinnati, O.—Dr. David De Beck, 139 West Ninth street; Jones & news and stationery store, 272 Vine street; headquarters Single tax club, 295 Vine street.  
Clinton, Ark.—E. C. Martin, or Allen D. Davis.  
Cleveland, O.—C. W. Whitmarsh, 4 Euclid avenue; Frank L. Carter, 182 Chestnut street.  
Clinton, Ind.—L. O. Bishop, editor Argus.  
Covington, N. Y.—J. S. Cebra.  
Cotton, Cal.—Charles F. Smith, proprietor Commercial Cotton.  
Columbus, O.—Edward Hyemman, 348 1-2 South High street.  
Cornwall, Cal.—Jeff A. Bailey.  
Cramer Hill, Camden county, N. J.—Chas P. Johnston.  
Crawley, Conn.—Sam A. May, 31 Smith street.  
Dayton, O.—W. W. Kile, 31 E. Fifth street; J. G. Galloway, 263 Samuel street.  
Denver, Col.—F. H. Monroe.  
Des Moines, Iowa.—J. J. Kasson, president Single tax club; John N. Kirk, secretary.  
Detroit, Mich.—J. R. Fincham, 45 Waterloo street; J. P. Duncan, 79 Third street, secretary Tariff reform association; H. C. Howe, 64 1/2 W. W. Diamond Springs, Eldorado county, Cal.—J. V. Luskton.  
Dighton, Mass.—Y. Cross.  
Dunkirk, N. Y.—Francis Lake.  
East Cambridge, Mass.—J. F. Harrington, St John's Laboratory.  
East Northport, Long Island, N. Y.—J. K. Rudyard.  
East Ridge, N. H.—Edward Jewett.

Englewood, Ill.—W. B. Steers.  
Evansville, Ind.—Charles G. Bennett, 427 Upper Third street.  
Fitchburg, Mass.—R. O. Farry.  
Farmington, Iowa.—F. W. Rockwell.  
Gardner, Ill.—T. S. Cumming.  
Glen Cove, Long Island, N. Y.—Herbert Loromer.  
Grandview, Mont.—A. H. Sawyer.  
Gleason Falls, N. Y.—John H. Quinn.  
Gloversville, N. Y.—Wm C. Wood, M. D.  
Grand View on the Hudson, N. Y.—Henry L. Hinton.  
Harrison, Tex.—J. J. McCollum.  
Hartington, Neb.—John H. Feber.  
Haverhill, Mass.—Arthur F. Brock.  
Helena, Mont.—Judge J. M. Clements, secretary Montana single tax association.  
Hornesville, N. Y.—George H. Van Winkle.  
Hot Springs, Ark.—W. Albert Chapman.  
Hoosick Falls, N. Y.—F. S. Hammond.  
Houston, Tex.—H. F. Ring, corporation attorney.  
Hutchinson, Kas.—J. G. Mahcom, M. D.  
Hyon, N. Y.—George Smith, P. O. box 502.  
Indianapolis, Ind.—L. F. Custer, president Single tax league, W. U. Tel. Co.; Chas H. Krause, bookkeeper, Vou-negue's hardware store, E Washington street.  
Itasca, N. Y.—C. Platt, druggist, 75 East State street.  
Jamestown, N. Y.—J. H. Walsh.  
Jersey City, N. J.—Joseph Dana Mill, secretary Hudson county single tax league, 86 1/2 Ave. avenue.  
Kansas City, Mo.—Chas E. Reid, 2223 Woodland avenue.  
Kenosha, Wis.—W. D. Quigley.  
Kerlsburg, Ill.—M. McDonald.  
Kingsport, N. Y.—Theodore M. Romeyn.  
Lansingburgh, N. Y.—James McManis, 21 Eighteenth st.  
Lonsdale, R. I.—Dr. L. F. Garvin.  
Lexington, Mo.—F. D. Lyford, 3 Cottage street.  
Lexington, Ky.—James Lewis.  
London, England.—William Saunders, 177 Palace Chambers Westminister.  
Los Angeles, Cal.—W. H. Douge, 30 North Alameda street; W. A. Cole, 149 South Hill; or A. V. Vintet, P. O. box 15.  
Lowell, Mass.—Henry Robertson, 5 Metcalf block, Kilders street.  
Lyle, Minn.—F. W. Venham.  
Lynchburg, Va.—Thos Williamson, cor Fifth and Church streets.  
Lynn, Mass.—Theodore P. Perkins, 14 South Common street.  
Madison, Dak.—E. H. Evenson.  
Madison City, Pa.—J. N. Becker, president Free trade club; Robert Richardson, secretary.  
Mammoth, Mich.—Albert Walkley or W. R. Hall.  
Mansfield, O.—W. J. Higgins, manager Western union telegraph office.  
Marlboro, Mass.—Geo A. E. Reynolds.  
Marlborough, N. Y.—C. H. Baidon.  
Marti, Tex.—J. L. Caldwell, chairman Ninth congressional district organizer.  
Marysville, Mont.—S. F. Ralston, Sr., president Montana single tax association.  
Massillon, O.—Victor Burnett, 78 East South street.  
Maudslough, Ind.—Robert A. Rohan, 8 Pump street, Port Louis.  
Memphis, Tenn.—R. G. Brown, secretary Tariff reform club, 59 Madison street.  
Middletown, Conn.—John G. Hopkins, P. O. box 580.  
Middletown, N. Y.—Chas H. Fuller, P. O. box 15.  
Minneapolis, Minn.—C. J. Buell, president Single tax league, 402 W. Franklin avenue; E. L. Ryder, secretary.  
Mobile, Ala.—E. Q. Norton, 23 South Royal street.  
Mt Pleasant, Iowa.—A. C. Picher, M. D.  
Mt Vernon, N. Y.—J. E. Luthi.  
Murrayville, Ill.—William Caim, president Democratic club.  
Nashville, Tenn.—P. H. Carroll, 236 N. High street, secretary American land league.  
Neponset, Mass.—Q. A. Lathrop, member Henry George club, 43 Walnut street.  
Newark, N. J.—Rev Hugh O. Pectost, 56 Oriental street.  
New Brighton, Pa.—John Seitz, 1 North Broadway.  
Newburg, N. Y.—D. J. McKay, secretary Single tax club, 238 Broadway.  
Newburyport, Mass.—Wm R. Whitmore, secretary Mer-mur assembly, Herald office.  
New Haven, Conn.—Willard D. Warren, room 11, 102 Orange street; Alfred Smith, 83 W. Valley avenue.  
New Orleans, La.—John S. Waters, Maritime association.  
Newport, Ky.—Joseph L. Schrauer, secretary Single tax league, 247 Southgate street; Will C. James, 89 Taylor street.  
New Westminster, Brit. Col.—Alex Hamilton, member Tax reform association.  
Norfolk, Va.—Edward K. Robertson, secretary Alpha club, P. O. box 85.  
North Adams, Mass.—Willard M. Browne, 13 Marshall street; B. S. Myers, P. O. box 37.  
North Springfield, Mo.—K. P. Alexander, 1826 North Booneville street.  
Norwalk, Conn.—James H. Babcock, lock box 52.  
Oberlin, O.—Edw B. Haskell.  
Olean, N. Y.—George Hall, pres Single tax association; Timothy Horan, sec, 85 Railroad street.  
Olmsted Wash Ter.—Alexander Farquhar, Adam street.  
Omaha, Neb.—John E. Embler, 822 Virginia avenue; Percy Popson, pres single tax club, 1216 N. 7th street; O. F. Rockett, sec, in care of 27th and Grand streets.  
Orkney, Ark.—H. H. Garland, member Tax reform association.  
Oswego, N. Y.—Alex Skilton, 160 West First street.  
Passaic, N. J.—J. J. Barnard, P. O. box 181.  
Patterson, N. J.—E. W. Neils, chairman Passaic county Single tax Cleveland campaign committee, 89 North Main street.  
Parkersburg, W. Va.—W. I. Boreman, member of Single tax league.  
Pawtucket, R. I.—Edward Barker, 23 Gooding street.  
Peoria, Ill.—J. W. Avery.  
Philadelphia, Pa.—Wm J. Atkinson, 926 Chestnut street; or A. J. Stephenson, 214 Chestnut street, secretary Henry George club.  
Piermont, N. Y.—Charles R. Hood, P. O. box 13.  
Pittsburg, Pa.—Mark F. Roberts, 1727 Carey alley.  
Portland, Ore.—S. B. Rigger, 48 Stark street, R. H. Thompson.  
Poughkeepsie, N. Y.—William C. Albro.  
Providence, R. I.—Robert Grivee, 32 Sutton street; Dr Wm Barker, pres, Rhode Island single tax association.  
Pulaski, N. Y.—C. V. Harbottle.  
Ravenswood, Ill.—W. H. Van Ornum.  
Reading, Pa.—Chas S. Prezer, 1013 Penn street; Charles Corkhill, 15 N. 4th street.  
Reynolds's Bridge, Conn.—John Carreer, box 20.  
Ridgeway, N. Y.—D. C. Sullivan.  
Rivers Falls, Wis.—George H. Bates.  
Rockester, N. Y.—Charles Avril, 7 Morrill street.  
Roselle, N. J.—Road Gordon.  
Rutland, Vt.—T. H. Brown, 11 Cherry street.  
San Francisco, Cal.—Judge James G. Maguire, Superior court.  
San Luis Obispo, Cal.—Mrs Frances M. Milne.  
Seattle, Wash Ter.—F. P. Morrow.  
Seneca Falls, N. Y.—Wm H. Addison, P. O. box 54.  
Sharon, Conn.—A. J. Hostwick, librarian Single tax club.  
Shenandoah, Pa.—Morris Marsh, president Single tax club; Thos Poles, secretary.  
Southboro, Mass.—S. H. Howe.  
South Gateon, N. C.—W. I. M. Perkins.  
Sparrow Bush, Orange county, N. Y.—C. L. Dedrick, president Progressive association; John Sheehan, secretary.  
Spout Lake, Iowa.—J. W. Schrimpf, secretary Tariff reform club.  
Springfield, Ill.—James H. McGee, secretary Sangamon single tax club, 623 Black avenue.  
Springfield, Mo.—H. A. W. Juncman, 665 Nichols street.  
St. Louis, Mo.—Hamilton Russell, president Single tax league, 258 Bacon street; Bend E. Bloom, secretary, room 3, 39 Olive street.  
Stockton, Cal.—D. A. Learned.  
Stoneham, Mass.—Dr W. Symington Brown.  
Stratford, Ct.—George G. Guenther.  
Syracuse, N. Y.—Charles S. Hopkins, 9 Seymour street; or L. E. Peck, 119 South Clinton street; or F. A. Paul, 4 Walton street; or James K. McGuire, secretary Single tax club, 59 Greene street.  
Tahoe, O.—Wm Adelsperger, secretary Single tax club, No. 1, 112 Summit street.  
Trenton, N. J.—F. C. Clarke, 1398 K St.  
Troy, N. Y.—H. B. Hartus.  
Tuckahoe, N. Y.—Albert O. Young.  
Unionville, Conn.—John McAuliffe.  
Utica, N. Y.—Thos Sweeney, 156 Elizabeth street, or Daniel M. Buckley, grocer, south west corner First and Catharine.  
Victoria, B. C.—W. J. Sinton, E and N R R Co.  
Vincennes, Ind.—Hon Samuel W. Williams, rooms 2 and 8 Opera block.  
Waco, Tex.—Frank Gray, lawyer, 163 south 4th street.  
Washington, D. C.—Dr. William Geddes, 1719 G street, N. W., secretary single tax league.  
Weatherford, Tex.—William M. Buell.  
West New Brighton, Staten Island, N. Y.—A. B. Stoddard.  
Weston, N. Y.—John L. Frank, 247 East street.  
Whitestone, Long Island, N. Y.—George Harnwell.  
Whitman, Mass.—C. P. Ball, cigar store; Thos Douglas, president Single tax league.  
Wilmington, Del.—Geo W. Kree, 717 West Ninth street.  
Woodstock, Ill.—A. W. Camms.  
Worcester, Mass.—E. K. Page, Lake View.  
Yonkers, N. Y.—Joseph Sutherland.  
Youngstown, O.—Billy Radcliffe, Radcliffe house.  
Zanesville, Ohio.—W. H. Laughland, 71 Van Buren street.



# THE STANDARD.

HENRY GEORGE, Editor and Proprietor.

Published weekly at  
12 UNION SQUARE, NEW YORK CITY.

TERMS. POSTAGE FREE.

One year, \$2.50; six months, \$1.25; single copies, 5 cents.  
Entered at the post office, New York, as second class matter.

Communications and contributions are invited, and will be attentively considered. Manuscripts not found suitable for publication will be returned if sufficient stamps are sent for return postage. No notice will be taken of anonymous communications.

Contributions and letters on editorial matters should be addressed to THE EDITOR OF THE STANDARD, and all communications on business to the PUBLISHER OF THE STANDARD.

THE STANDARD wants an agent to secure subscribers at every post office in the United States, to whom liberal terms will be given.

THE STANDARD is for sale by newsdealers throughout the United States. Persons who may be unable to obtain it will confer a favor on the publisher by notifying him promptly.

Sample copies sent free on application.

THE STANDARD is not sent to subscribers after the expiration of the time paid for.

Subscribers should renew a week or two before the expiration of their subscriptions to prevent the loss of any numbers.

Judge Wallace of the United States circuit court, has made a decision, partly in favor of the Western Union telegraph company and partly against it, in its application for an injunction restraining the city from enforcing the law for the removal of telegraph poles and wires from the streets. Judge Wallace upholds jurisdiction for the United States courts on the ground that the streets of New York are post roads, and that the Western Union, having become a business agency of government, has by act of congress the right to construct and operate lines of telegraph over and along any post road. From this he argues that if any state law or municipal ordinance prevents such construction or operation it is the duty of the federal courts to interfere. But he also holds that this duty arises only when local authority incapacitates or unreasonably interferes with the telegraph company, and that the requirement that wires shall be put underground does not incapacitate or interfere, but is a proper police regulation. The privilege of maintaining telegraph wires over and along post roads, he says, is not to be construed so as to exclude regulations by the state respecting location and mode of construction and maintenance. As to the wires that are strung along the elevated railroad, however, Judge Wallace allows the injunction. The elevated railroad, being a post road distinct from and independent of the street upon which it is erected, the attempt of the city to require the removal altogether of the wires from the elevated structure, and its purpose to refuse to permit them to be kept there at all, is not a regulation but an absolute denial of the use of a particular post road.

There is something humorous in the spectacle of Andrew Carnegie appearing before the Pennsylvania legislature to denounce the Pennsylvania railroad company as a monopoly. When Mr. Carnegie appears before congress to denounce the beneficiaries of the protective tariff as monopolists it will be quite plain that he is opposed to monopolies—those that help him as well as those that hurt him. Meantime there is room for an inference that Mr. Carnegie's monopoly and the Pennsylvania railroad's monopoly are not enjoying harmonious relations.

The Albany correspondent of the New York Evening Telegram has been looking into some old highway charters with the result of shedding a good deal of light upon our legislative policy of half a century and more ago. It appears that our policy then was what it should be now. The old-fashioned plank roads were constructed and operated by private corporations, of which there were chartered at every session of the legislature from five to fifteen. Each of these charters reserved to the state the right to assume ownership at any time, and provided that when the revenues of the roads should have paid back to the stockholders the amount of their stock and ten per cent annual dividends the road should, without any legislative action, revert absolutely to the state. This policy was also adopted re-

specting canals, and in 1817 the state exercised its reserved rights as to them. When railroads were introduced the same policy was followed. The first railroad charter, that of the Mohawk and Hudson, provided that the charter should be deemed to be taken upon the condition that at any time within five years after the completion of the road it should become null and void, and the railroad vest in and become the property of the state upon repayment to the company of the cost of construction plus interest and minus tolls received. The second charter was to the Geneva and Canandaigua, and provided that at the end of two years from the completion of the road the state might take it at its appraised value, and if it failed to take at that time the charter should expire in fifty years. In 1832 there were granted twenty-seven railroad charters, every one of which contained provisions for purchase by the state, and also that at the end of certain fixed periods they should revert to the state if not purchased before. The Telegram correspondent fully proves his conclusion that "the forefathers contemplated and adhered to the doctrine of state ownership and control of means of transportation."

The Ohio State Journal is uneasy in behalf of Allen W. Thurman, whom the single tax men of Ohio are indorsing for governor. One of these indorsements was given by the Youngstown single tax club at its celebration of Jefferson's birthday, and the Journal wants to know why "the Henry George party" should celebrate the birthday of Thomas Jefferson. If the Journal editor would take a brief vacation and spend it in reading the life and letters of Jefferson, together with a little American history of the Jeffersonian period, glancing incidentally at the declaration of independence, and would then find out from some intelligent compositor in his office what the single tax is, he would understand why single tax men celebrate Jefferson's birthday. A man who thinks that the single tax is a tax upon homes, and this is the idea of the Journal editor, need have no fear of learning more than he ought to know.

The Pennsylvania protectionist may be trusted to serve his fellow citizens who make things, at the expense of his fellow-citizens who trade things, and of those who use things. The manufacturers of worsteds have not been satisfied with the amount of tariff protection they get, and last winter tried to get a new classification through congress. In this they failed. Later, and since the new administration came in, they have tried to get a department ruling which would add five per cent a pound and five per cent ad valorem to the duty on imported worsteds. While this was under consideration, some bright mind suggested that the customs collector might rule in favor of the manufacturers, and in that way the matter could be carried into the courts. No sooner said than done. A Philadelphia appraiser promptly advanced the duty. Now the importers will add the extra duty and a profit on it to the price of their goods, just as Postmaster-general Wannamaker did with his ribbons, and after a long litigation, just as in Wannamaker's case again, the entire price taken in this way from consumers, will be divided between the importers and their lawyers.

Some weeks ago THE STANDARD copied a fanciful story from the San Francisco Argonaut, giving proper credit according to its custom. Hugh O. Pentecost clips a sentence from this story, and in last week's issue of the Twentieth Century makes the following use of it:

Has THE STANDARD abandoned its policy of studiously excluding everything on the money question, or did the following sentence slip in unawares?

The precious metals, as you term gold and silver, had not been used as currency for some thousands of years before my time, and had been replaced by verbal contract or written memoranda of transactions. As gold and silver no longer represented values, the accumulation of these metals or their equivalents became valueless; and as their possession conferred no benefit upon the possessor, the great incentive to all the frauds, villainies and crimes which now afflict and debase human life, was absent.

To be sure, it occurs in an article quoted from another publication and refers to an imaginary civilization upon this planet before the flood, but it is very dangerous doctrine to get abroad among the single taxers, so many of whom cling to the idea that gold is the only real money and that interest is not a symptom of disease but necessary to social health. Accidents will happen in the best regulated newspapers, but THE STANDARD should be more careful. It will not do to even quote such heresy as the above; because heresy is exceedingly "catching."

It is not true that THE STANDARD studiously excludes everything on the money question. It treats the money question as it treats other questions, the single tax and related issues excepted, discussing it when it is a subject of current interest and leaving it alone when it is not. Of this Mr. Pentecost is aware, and we cannot for a moment suppose that he intended exactly what his words imply. The criticism that was probably in his thought was not that THE STANDARD studiously excludes the money question, but that it does not studiously include it. This criticism is justified by the fact.

The single tax is the fundamental practical reform. The money question is not fundamental, nor has it any such connection with the single tax as exists between the single tax and free trade. Free trade is a highway leading to the single tax, while money reform, like a variety of other reforms, is at best only supplemental. Offensive and defensive alliances between the single tax movement and any of these would be worse than folly. Our cause is broad enough to welcome every man who believes it to be fundamental, no matter what his convictions are on other subjects; but it cannot afford to be an omnium-gatherum of theories. It may be narrow to confine the single tax movement to the single tax cause, but the success of the cause demands it.

The supreme court gave a judgment in this county last week which ought to interest every one who abhors the idea of depriving the landlords of ground rent without compensating them. In 1884, Josephine F. Clason owned the premises No. 42 Sheriff street, but neglecting to pay her taxes they were sold by the sheriff. Now it appears that there was a defect in the tax title, and the property is returned to Mrs. Clason. If the matter stopped here, there would be an analogy between the case of this purchaser and that of the landlords under a general confiscation of titles to the state. But the matter does not stop here. The further it goes the worse is it for the compensation argument. If land titles generally were resumed by the state, improvements would be sacredly secured to the owners, and no back rents for the land would be collected. Not so in this tax title case. Not content with taking from the purchaser the land he had bought and paid hard earned money for, upon the assurance of the state that he should peaceably enjoy it, the state also confiscates any improvements he may have made and gives judgment against him for nearly \$4,000 for rent for the time he occupied the premises.

The Saxton ballot bill was passed by the assembly last week by a vote of 74 to 44. It was a strictly party vote, the democrats opposing. Since the bill has been made a party measure there is reason to believe that the republican senate will pass it without delay. We shall then know whether the governor will go the length of completely committing his party in this state to electoral corruption. At his command the democratic assemblymen have placed themselves on record, and the democratic senators will probably do the same; but the governor is not quite so fat-witted as not to think twice when the bill comes to him before making himself personally responsible for the defeat of this reform. It is one thing to have the democratic caucus pull his chestnuts out of the fire, and quite a different thing to pull them out himself.

In New Jersey the senate has undertaken the job of defeating the bill. The house tried it but could not stand the pressure. The democrats were in the main

opposed to the bill, but only two dared to vote against it. In the senate there is not to be open opposition, but manipulation and delay until adjournment.

It should not be forgotten that in every state where the ballot bill has been presented it has been opposed by the party whose machine was in the ascendancy. In Indiana, where machine tactics have been particularly advantageous to the republicans, the bill was opposed by the republicans and supported and carried through by the democrats. In Maine and Connecticut, also, where the republican machine controls, the bill encountered republican opposition, while in New York and New Jersey, where the democratic machine controls, it encounters democratic opposition. This shows clearly enough that neither republicans nor democrats, as such, are opposed to the bill, but that party bosses know what it means, and wherever boss ship pays, there the boss brings his power to bear upon his party to kill the bill. But it is only a matter of a very little time now. With the system in operation in Massachusetts this year and in Indiana and some other states next, the reform cannot be long delayed in any state.

## SOCIETY NOTES.

It is predicted that the London season of 1889 will be one of diamonds. If this be the case, Mrs. Vanderbilt and Mrs. Bradley Martin will do their fair share toward the brilliancy of the show, to say nothing of Mrs. Mackay and several new stars from the Western hemisphere, who have made preparation to shine in London this season. Among these is Mrs. Kennedy of Boston, who has taken the spacious house of Lord Stanley of Preston in Portland place, and who is to be engineered through the shoals and quicksands of English high life by Lady Mandeville. Mr. and Mrs. Cornelius Vanderbilt, after taking possession of their Belgravia residence, have started on a continental trip, from which they will return to Paris in time for the opening of the exposition, and then spend the remainder of their time abroad in London.—[New York Sun.]

A young man named William Miller, a factory hand, fainted on the street in New Brunswick, N. J., on Wednesday night from sheer starvation. He was cut off work and had eaten nothing for some time. He was exceedingly weak and died shortly after being taken to the poor farm this morning.—[N. Y. Star, April 13.]

A woman who wants to be extravagant can walk into any of the largest of the Sixth avenue stores and buy a \$350 suit of underclothing from the stock on the shelves. She can even make her choice between a number of different styles of suits of that price. When it comes to the cheaper sort of goods, suits that sell from \$125 to \$175, there are scores of different styles from which she can select. There are whole shelves filled with boxes containing nothing but these goods for which it would seem that there could be no demand.

Magdalena Chesky, who lives at 608 East Twelfth street, was arraigned before Justice O'Reilly in the Essex Market police court the other day, charged with abandoning her five-months-old child. She had left the little one in a hallway in Hester street, and one of the tenants followed her and had her arrested. The excuse she gave was her poverty. As she said to the judge, "No one wishes to employ a woman with a child in her arms."

John McKeon, the oil king, has an income of \$50,000 a month from his oil wells. In addition to his oil interests he owns 25,000 acres of yellow pine land in Alabama, one of the largest flour mills in Minnesota, and a business block in Baltimore said to be worth \$1,000,000.

Three little children were buried in the potter's field a couple of weeks ago, their parents being too poor to pay for the expense of a funeral. One was the first born of a young couple living in Suffolk street, who were employed in a shoe store but were thrown out of work by the failure of their employer. They struggled along in extreme poverty and finally when they were entirely destitute and behind hand with the rent, the child took sick and died. They brought it to the morgue and asked the authorities to bury it. Another was brought to the morgue in a basket by a boy. It was the child of a woman in Mott street. The boy said a man had sent him saying to him that he could not bear to carry it there himself. The child was four months old. The third was brought by a respectable looking man. He said he was a car driver, but lost his work through the strike. He could not afford a burial, but did not want his child dissected, so he brought it to the morgue.

The most expensive corset kept in stock at the dry goods stores of this city is usually a \$35 one. To spend more than that on a corset a woman must have it made to order. Thirty-five dollars buys a dream in heavy satin, sprinkled with gold embroidery, or decorated with a clever imitation of hand painting. It is lined with heavy silk and made so that there is not a seam or roughness of any sort to worry the tender flesh of the wearer, and the harsh steels where it fastens in front are covered with down lest they might accidentally pinch the flesh. Such corsets are made entirely by hand in Paris.



## MEN AND THINGS.

At this writing the fate of the seven hundred and nine human beings known to have been on board the steamer *Danmark* is still a mystery. They may have been rescued by some passing vessel; they may have taken to the boats; they may have perished utterly. In what form disaster came upon them, whether by collision, by stress of weather, by accident to machinery, there are no means of knowing. Only this is tolerably certain, that they have been through an experience of agony and terror such as, luckily, falls but rarely to humanity's lot. And this is highly probable; that the disaster was one against which human science is amply able to provide efficient safeguards. Some day men will bethink themselves that life at sea is just as sacred as life on shore. When that day comes, the ocean steamer will be safer than the express trains. But it never will come while ship owners are allowed to plead that the ocean is ruled by a special deity, who sinks or saves them according as he feels like it, and against whose freaks of destruction it is useless to take precautions that cost money.

The Allard case is a very sad one. Here is a firm of wicked Frenchmen, who have for years been deluging the best people of New York, Chicago, and other cities with pauper made old masters, pauper made tapestries, pauper made bric a brac, and other European wickednesses, and all this under the very nose of the custom house, without a cent of duty paid. The Vanderbilt family seem to have been especially the victims of this cunningly laid scheme of persecution. They have been deluged with imitation Rembrandts at \$20,000 each, with portraits of their offspring at \$6,000 apiece, with Gobelin tapestries, with portieres, with decorated doors, with French clocks, with goodness only knows what besides. The pauper product people got \$95,000 out of one of them, and he wasn't the chief man of the family either. The villainy has been going on for years and nobody can say how great the injury to American labor may not have been. At last a discharged employe, moved by remorse or a desire to get square, or something, went and told, and the custom house officers came down like the wolf on the fold, and the deluge was dammed in every sense of the word.

Of course the Allards were very wicked people. We all know that it is very wrong for the people of one country to try to sell things to the people of another; and the history of our negotiations with Japan and Corea is quite sufficient to show the painstaking accuracy with which we have always squared our practice with our theory. And yet in some respects, this Allard case is a perplexing one to the moralist.

For example, the Allards deluged one of the Vanderbilt son-in-laws with a picture valued at \$20,000. They brought it ashore, in defiance of the army and navy, screwed up between two doors, and told the son-in-law that it was a pauper product. They also collected from him a sum of several thousand dollars, which they told him was used to square the treasury department—paying duties is the slang term for it. The son-in-law bowed his head to the deluge and paid the \$20,000, and the treasury department bribe besides, because he thought the picture was a pauper product—he supposed it to be the work of a pauper named Rembrandt, who has since died. But the picture was not by any means the pauper product the Allards said it was. It was only a copy of a pauper product. Very probably it was the work of some American artist. And the law says that American artists living in Europe are not paupers, and their paintings may be brought ashore without any bribe to the custom house. Now it is clear that the Allards would have done wrong to sell Mr. Twombly a real, genuine, sure enough Rembrandt painting, isn't it? That sort of thing is a moral offense, which we try to check, just as we do saloon keeping, by a sort of high license system. But if so, wasn't it rather a praiseworthy action to sell him an imitation article, the product of the labor of some honest American exile? Mr. Twombly had developed an unwholesome appetite for pauper products, just as a toper develops an appetite for rum. If it be praiseworthy to humbug the toper into drinking colored lemonade instead of wine, whisky or crambambali (and who will deny it?) surely it must have been

right to humbug Mr. Twombly into consuming an American colored canvas instead of the seductive and deadly old master he was longing for. If not, why not?

Also I would respectfully inquire why it should be imputed to the Allards for unrighteousness that they collected from their customers the duties that they didn't pay over to the custom house? The object of the duties, as we all know very well, is not to increase that embarrassing surplus, but to make the consumption of pauper products an expensive business to the misguided American consumer. Was not this object amply effected by the Allards' method? It seems to me it was. Suppose they had smuggled their Rembrandts and things into the country and offered them for sale without adding the duty to the price. They would have simply encouraged the appetite for pauper products, and the end of it all might have been that the wholesome American chromo would have been submerged by a deluge of old masters. So far from having been guilty of any crime in this matter, I submit that Allard & Sons have really benefited humanity by working out the solution of a great financial and economic problem. They have showed us how protective duties may be collected without increasing the surplus.

The simple truth is that morality and the custom house are like oil and water. You may churn them up together to all eternity, but they will never mix.

Three hundred dollars a square foot is the value at which Mr. Harnett estimates the lot, 25 feet by 100, on the corner of Broadway and Chambers street. Mr. Harnett is a real estate broker of experience, an expert in his business. He made this estimate under oath in the surrogate's court last week.

Three hundred dollars a square foot is \$13,068,000 an acre. A quarter section of land, at that rate, would be worth \$2,190,880,000. The farmers who think the single tax on land values is going to trouble them, would do well to study these figures.

"Put the children into schools and let the grown up people work." So says the Press, the paper that believes the grown people of America ought not to be trusted to go to market.

The Press is agitated over a discovery it has made, since last November, that a great many children have to work for a living in this country. Massachusetts, for example, had 10,000 children under 16 working in her textile mills alone last year. And Massachusetts, so the Press says, takes better care of her children than any other state in the Union. "The factory inspectors of New York and other states," the Press goes on to say, "agree that children who come to this country from England, Germany and Switzerland, nine years old and upward are better developed, physically and mentally, than native American children working in the same mills, who have grown up in the shadow of school houses and never entered them."

The Press finds this state of affairs all wrong. Something must be done about it. "We are rich enough," the Press says, "to build, man and equip a school system embracing every child to the age of fifteen or sixteen." And so it wants some more laws passed. Laws to build the school houses and laws to make the children go to them. Law, so the Press appears to think, can do anything. If men are hungry, give them law. If children are ignorant, a little law will educate them. If men are out of work, a little more law will give them employment at high wages. It's a thoroughly protectionist idea. The legislature is the protectionist's god, and the lobby is his temple.

"We are rich enough," the Press says. Are we rich enough? Are we rich enough? Isn't our trouble simply and purely that we are not rich enough to give our children schooling? Mr. Porter of the Press, and Mr. Ammidown, and Colonel Elliott F. Shepard, and other protected protectionists don't send their children into factories, or make cash girls and boys out of them. The school system seems somehow to be large enough to embrace their children. Why isn't it big enough to embrace the children of the men who work for them as well? The simple truth is that Mr. Porter and Mr. Ammidown and Mr. Shepard, and men of their class, can afford to give their children schooling, but a good many of the rest of us

cannot. It is not more schools that we want, but more wealth. Take the shackles off our industry, Mr. Porter, and we can solve the education problem for ourselves.

South Carolina is richer than she was a month or two ago. There has been no very great increase of things within her borders, and her people as a whole, are not likely to be any better off; but she counts herself richer, for all that. A number of capitalists from New York and other northern cities have been down there, trying to buy the privilege of digging phosphates in various localities. And the men who own the phosphate lands, hearing of this sudden activity of the market, have doubled their prices. They ask twice as much for their lands as they did a few months ago. The consequence is that the difficulty of getting phosphates in South Carolina is about twice as great as it was. Curiously enough, the newspapers and people of the state appear to rejoice in this state of affairs.

T. L. M'CREADY.

## HOME AVENUE.

A Fable.

R. W. Shibley in the *Federal Guide and Rhode Island Business Journal*, Providence, R. I.

The mayor one day was driving through the suburbs when he noticed a street connecting two avenues, on which no house was built. "It seems to me," he said to the president of the board of aldermen who was with him, "that that would be a fine street for building on. I wonder why no one has seen fit to put up a house on it?"

"Altogether likely some real estate broker has cornered it and is holding it for a rise in land values," replied the practical president of the board.

The mayor said not a word more, but he thought a great deal. When he returned to the City hall he instructed his clerk to go to the office of the city assessor and find out who owned the land on this street called Home avenue, according to the legend on the gas post.

"It belongs to the city, your honor," said the clerk when he returned.

The mayor did a lot more thinking that day and the next. The following day the board of aldermen met and received the following message from the mayor:

Gentlemen of the Board of Aldermen: Between the great thoroughfares, A and B avenues, connecting them, lies a street called Home avenue, on which no house is built, and which belongs to the city. It does no man good. It returns no money to the city treasury. I propose that a sewer at once be placed beneath this street, and that the city engineer be instructed to stake it off in lots of fifty feet frontage, allowing any citizen of the United States who will express his intention, to build upon any lot he may choose, a house in which he is to reside, he to own all improvements he may make thereon, and to pay as taxes each year the assessed rental value of the lot, no taxes to be placed on the buildings. I suggest this as an experiment, as I am firmly of the opinion that home-steading should be fostered in this city.

(Signed.)

THE MAYOR.

The honorable board being composed of men who placed the welfare of the city before their own private interests, passed the necessary resolutions to make the mayor's idea a law.

The sewer was placed under the streets, lots were staked out by the engineers and then the public was notified through the papers that any one who was an American citizen could build thereon, paying only a tax on the rental value of the lot. A great number read the advertisement and forgot it as soon as read. They did not understand what "rental value" meant, and they had no idea of building anyway. A butcher, who was a shrewd fellow, was the first to see into it. He had paid \$25 a month rent for fifteen years or more, and was heartily sick of it. He immediately took the horse car, which ran by Home avenue, and choosing a corner lot, went as fast as he could to the city engineer's office and registered his intention to build. Then he told his wife about it, and they formulated a plan for a home.

Said the butcher, "Wife, we have paid \$4,500 rent the last fifteen years. We will probably live together twenty-five years yet. So let us spend that much on our home, and then we can leave it to our children, for you see no matter how expensive our house is, we won't have to pay a cent more taxes."

Then a baker "tumbled," and laid claim to a corner lot. A barber heard a customer who was waiting for "next" wondering about the strange "ad." and saw the cat at once. He got another corner. A lawyer who had imported his landlord in vain to repaper his tenement, got desperate and claimed the remaining corner. Then everybody saw it all at once and one would have thought Booth and Barrett tickets were for sale at the office of the city engineer. The mayor looked on and smiled. All the lots were taken and building began at once. The architects were driven for plans for "beautiful homes." "We won't have to pay any tax on them, so let us have them as fine as we can afford," cried they all.

The next year the mayor and the president

of the board of aldermen happened out that way, so they drove through Home avenue. There was not a stick in the street. Where last year no houses had stood were now two rows of as handsome homes as one would wish to see. The painter and the carpenter had vied with each other in producing artistic effects. Each house sat back twenty feet from the street, and before each was a bed of flowers. Everything looked so clean and neat and beautiful that the mayor slapped the president of the board on the shoulder and cried: "I knew it was in them; all a man wants is a chance." When the butcher and the baker met in the horse car of a morning, they smiled knowingly at each other, as much as to say, "We're in luck, ain't we?"

For some reason or other the mayor and the whole board of aldermen were defeated the next year, although they had the solid vote of Home avenue, and a new staff of officers were elected. Home avenue was the political death of his honor. Some called him an idealist, a dreamer and a public nuisance. The new board spent their hours of executive session discussing and wrangling over who was to be commissioner of the city cesspool, and so no more foolish legislating was indulged in.

MORAL.

There are plenty of streets in Providence where a Home avenue could be made. Is the ideal street which the Rental Guide has conceived so utterly impracticable? All the citizens of this city want is a chance; why not encourage the building of houses?

## PROTECTING LABOR.

The Resultant Booms as Seen Through a Glass Darkly—Extracts from Exchanges.

Lancaster, Pa., April 8.—The Susquehanna iron company's mills at Columbia shut down to-day, the men refusing to accept the reduction announced a few days ago. Over 150 men are idle. The Columbia iron company's mill is also idle. The employees of the Columbia rolling mill accepted the reduction.

Salem, Mass., April 8.—Nearly all the carpenters here struck this morning for a nine-hour day, and the trouble will probably be settled by a reduction of wages of twenty-five cents per day.

Rochester, N. Y., April 8.—Thousands of men lined Main street this afternoon, and threw stones at the car drivers as they passed. One driver drew a revolver, but it was knocked out of his hand.

Last week the railroad coal operators of the Pittsburgh and Hocking valley districts decided to reduce the wages of miners five cents per ton, to date from the 1st of May.

McLanahan, Smith & Co., of Hollidaysburg, Pa., and the Hollidaysburg iron company have reduced the wages of their puddlers from \$3.75 to \$3.50 per ton.

Reduction in the wages of operatives in New England mills appears to be the order of the day.

The broad loom weavers in Cutter's silk mill at Bethlehem, Pa., last Friday were notified of a reduction in their wages of about 35 cents per day.

Last Monday a reduction of five per cent in the pay of the employees of the Pottsville iron and steel company went into effect. On the same day the wages of nearly all the puddlers at the Bethlehem iron works were reduced from \$3.80 to \$3.45 per ton, and at the Allentown rolling mill from \$3.90 to \$3.25 per ton.

The puddlers in the Sunbury, Pa., nail works last week stopped work upon seeing a notice posted in the mill that their wages would be reduced to \$3 a ton.

The 1st of April has brought a reduction of five per cent in the wages of skilled labor and ten per cent in that of unskilled labor at the Pennsylvania steel works at Steelton.

On Wednesday notices were posted in the Clark thread works at Newark of a reduction in wages amounting to about fifteen per cent.

The puddlers in the Lebanon, Pa., nut and bolt works have struck against a reduction in wages of twenty-five cents a ton.

The Hinkley locomotive works of Boston have shut down, and will remain closed for some time, dullness of trade being alleged to be the cause.

Parties who should know say that before the end of this week the Monongahela miners will be without work or wages, there being some 6,000 of them, many with families.

## Prang's Publications for Easter Tide.

Messrs. L. Prang & Co. have placed upon the market a large assortment of fresh Easter goods in the shape of cards, satin prints, booklets and books. Flowers, landscapes and lovely children are the principal motifs for the designs, and lofty and appropriate sentiments accompany them. Among the novelties are art tiles, in imitation of plastic tiles, hand-modeled in exact imitation of old carved ivory. The art books issued are, besides "The Lord is Risen" and "Come, Sunshine, Come," which met with such large sale last year, "Easter Spores," a dainty little gem, containing a poem by Mrs. Annie D. Darling, with five charming full-page photographs by L. K. Harlow, in illuminated cover; "A Garland of Songs," containing fifteen full-page monochrome illustrations by Lisbeth B. Comins, and "Not to Myself Alone," a poem, with six full-page etchings by L. K. Harlow, vignettes in pen drawing by F. Schuyler Mathews, and a hand-decorated cover of artistic design.



## CURRENT THOUGHT.

## Missing the Road.

Mr. Charles Richardson appears to be a man who prefers writing to reading. Intending his mind on the consideration of the industrial problem, he seems to have thought the subject out, with pen in hand, to a nebulous, indeterminate sort of conclusion, the result being a very tastefully printed and elegantly bound little volume.

There is no fault to find with Mr. Richardson's mode of study. The pen is a great aid to thought. The recording of an argument as it shapes itself in the mind really does concentrate attention and assist the mental process. If men generally would adopt that method of studying social questions the day of industrial emancipation would be immeasurably hastened, and an inconceivable amount of agony be spared the world. Mr. Richardson's mistake has been in not supplementing his own thought by a study of the thoughts and arguments of others. If, before sending his manuscript to the printers, and while yet his mind was fresh from the study of the "labor problem," he had taken the trouble to read "Progress and Poverty," the world would have been poorer by a book and the single tax would have gained an earnest advocate. For his thought had brought him so near to the truth that a single ray of light would have enabled him to see it. And truth once seen in that fashion—by a mind whose perceptive powers have been quickened by earnest thought—is never again lost sight of.

If the laborers are unable to obtain satisfactory wages from their present employers or to find better situations elsewhere, why can they not ignore all employers entirely and leave them to work for themselves or not as they may see fit? What is there to prevent the workmen from adopting a more primitive and less artificial mode of life, laboring solely for their own benefit, building their own houses, raising their own food, and making their own clothes, just as they would do if they were the first settlers in a new country or cast away upon some fertile but uninhabited island?

The answer to this question may be of much use to us, but in order to find it we must remember that while, as previously stated, neither our necessities nor our luxuries can be supplied without human labor, yet human labor is itself absolutely useless and powerless unless it can have access to the natural forces and materials with which we are surrounded, and that it is almost equally dependent upon the use of the tools, engines, factories, food, clothing, houses, etc., which are the accumulated fruits of previous labor.

A man may be surrounded with rich lands, mines, flocks, herds, tools, machinery, etc., and yet, if he is prevented from touching or using any of these, no matter how great his strength and skill and energy, he may starve or freeze to death. Without the use of land he can neither plant, nor reap, nor build. If deprived of tools and material to work upon, he can make nothing for himself or others, and his industry and ability are as useless as a windmill would be in a vacuum.

It follows, therefore, that if a portion of mankind obtain in any way—honestly or otherwise—the entire control, monopoly, or ownership of all the stores of food and clothes and all the available land, buildings, machinery and other forms of real and personal property essential for production, and generally known as wealth or capital, all other men will be practically helpless; and if they cannot get permission to use this property upon any better terms, they must either become the laborers and servants of its owners or perish with hunger or cold.

How wonderfully close a man may come to the truth and yet never recognize it! A single word of hint or suggestion might have brushed away the cobwebs from before Mr. Richardson's eyes and showed him the difference between nature's supply of materials and force and man's supply of factories and tools. He would have seen that without the right of access to nature's storehouse, the man with tools is to the full as helpless as the man without; while, that right being assured, the lack of "tools, engines, factories, food, clothing, houses, etc." is but a temporary inconvenience, that a brief period of industry will remove. To labor and land all things in the shape of wealth are possible. To labor without the raw material of nature even the simplest and most elementary forms of production are impossible. The Israelites picked up the manna in the wilderness and were filled. Without the privilege of access to the land on which the manna lay, they would have starved—as men do nowadays—with food in plenty in plain sight; and the possession of baskets to put the manna in would have helped them no more than the possession of a hoe can benefit the man who is refused permission to cultivate the soil.

LARGE FORTUNES; or Christianity and the Labor Problem. By Charles Richardson. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company.

For want of such a hint or suggestion Mr. Richardson goes wandering abroad, and blunders round among all sorts of theories and notions. He falls foul of competition and bewilders himself with the attempt to find something wrong in that principle of human nature that is at the bottom of all material progress—the desire, namely, to get the greatest reward for the least amount of labor. He attacks greed and selfishness as though those vices were original and altogether independent of antecedent causes. He complains that rich men waste their riches in luxury and ostentation, that speculation, stock gambling and corners are unchecked. Generally he finds the universe full of flaws, and any quantity of poultices and patches needed. And after guessing around in this fashion for several chapters, he at last comes to the conclusion that everything will be made right if the church can only persuade the rich people to study a selection of scripture texts and refuse to be rich any longer. Starting out with a clear recognition of the fact that the oppression of the poor is their want of wealth, he winds up with the conclusion that the desire for wealth is the real root of all the trouble, and never sees the contradiction. So easy is it for men to go astray if they fail to read the sign post at the fork of the roads.

Mr. Richardson's book will have, I venture to say, a very limited circulation, and will not be really read, even by those who may happen to get hold of it. And yet it is an encouraging thing that such books should be written. For they show that their writers are honestly searching for the truth. And there is no way of finding truth save only the good old-fashioned way of looking for it.

T. L. MCCREADY.

## A Protectionist Professor's Dilemma.

BROOKLYN, N. Y.—A learned professor tumbled into a very deep hole while discussing the restriction of immigration before the Brooklyn Philosophical society the other afternoon. The professor was no other than Van Buren Denslow. He denied the doctrine of Malthus—that increase of population causes poverty through pressure on subsistence, employing the arguments advanced by Mr. George in showing the absurdity of the doctrine. Next he stated as a principle that restriction of immigration was morally wrong, and wrong also because of the mutual help that large bodies of workers are to each other and to all, and that this help would enable all to obtain a living with greater ease; and he added that it was an undisputed fact that the larger the bodies of people who were brought into communication the greater the benefits they would confer upon each other. I complimented the professor upon his conversion to the new political economy and inquired if he could still stick to protection, which restricted communication between the largest possible bodies of workers—all the world. The professor was nonplussed at this new aspect of the question, and in his reply made haste to slay a theory that he intimated was Henry George's, but which turned out to be socialism; but by stating that it was large production that made cheap goods he mystified the protectionists in the audience, who believed that it is pauper labor that makes them. In fact, the only persons in the audience who seemed to enjoy the professor's talk were the new political economists. In this connection I will give the professor a pressing and cordial invitation to come and address the Eastern District Brooklyn single tax club whenever he can make it convenient—the subject to be the single tax. The club meets at Phoenix hall, 118 South Eighth street, Wednesday evenings.

FRED. J. DEVERALL, 157 Broadway.

## Concerning the Boston Printers.

BOSTON, Mass., April 7.—For the past three years the typographical union of Boston has used the Australian ballot system slightly modified. It is the same system that is in force in New York with the exception that no provision is made for independent candidates, and that nominations are made at the meeting of the union preceding the election. All candidates nominated must accept in writing at least five days previous to election. Otherwise they do not qualify as candidates and their names are left off the ballot.

At the annual election on March 27 there were 780 votes cast. There were thirty-five names on the ballot, but only twenty-five to be voted for. Nine of the men elected are believers in the single tax. I am not acquainted with all of the successful candidates but nine of them I know to be believers in the single tax. There are more sympathizers among them.

W. L. CHESMAN.

## For Protectionists to Explain.

San Francisco Standard.

Protectionists who so vociferously talk about protection to American labor would find some trouble in explaining what protection is afforded when girls in Chicago are glad to accept 80 cents a week for their wages.

## SIR HENRY PARKES.

How He Came to be Thrown Out of Power a Few Months Ago—The Tariff Issue Had Nothing to Do with the Result—New South Wales is Hopelessly Free Trade—A Union Issue Worked the Change.

In a letter to the New York Times a Sydney, New South Wales, correspondent gives some inside facts relative to the defeat of Sir Henry Parkes's government a few months ago, which at once hush the stories about that colony becoming protectionist in its sympathies. As a matter of fact the tariff issue had nothing to do with the fight. The protectionists have no chance to win in such conflicts, as they are in a helpless minority. But the premier, hoping to bring about certain changes in the personnel of his cabinet by a dissolution and the formation of a new government, deliberately raised a minor issue, got beaten and went to the country. The plan worked all right until the leader of the opposition, Mr. Dibbs, was asked to form a government.

The story of the correspondent is told in the following extracts:

The fact is (although it is not generally known) that the wily old premier allowed the vote to go against him by default, for good and sufficient reasons of his own. It is no secret to those who are acquainted with him that he has for a long time been out of harmony with certain members of his cabinet who, to tell the truth and not mention names, have administered the affairs of their various departments with an almost sublime maladroitness, and have continually got their chief into hot water by certain acts that were in themselves insufficient to call for much attention, but in the aggregate proved excessively awkward and annoying. The temper of the political waters in which Sir Henry himself habitually disports is high enough to make him desire to avoid raising it by offending persons who, if doubtful friends, could become on occasion strong enemies, and for a long time he has puzzled his head how to get rid of them without scandal.

This was undoubtedly the cause of his seeking to remove them by a political coup, rather than by a straightforward statement of his feelings; moreover, being one of the craftiest plotters that ever lived, and having had no occasion of late to exercise his powers he may have wished to assure himself that his diplomatic muscles were not becoming flabby. His expectation was that, by allowing the government to be defeated on an unimportant motion, he and his associates might resign without any loss of prestige; whereupon the governor, Lord Carrington, being supposed to be aware of the true state of affairs and there being no other reason prominently in sight on the political horizon, would urge him to return and form a new ministry, and thus the way be clear for him to bring about himself a body of aides who should be more to his liking. The unimportant issue that had been raised in the railway department seemed a favorable one upon which to base this maneuver, and Sir Henry allowed it to come to the front.

It is unnecessary to describe the details of this question or discuss its merits, and it is enough to recite here only those incidents in it which are immediately connected with the matter in hand. Some time ago charges against the efficiency of the new appointee had been freely made by the opposition, and in response to a question in the house, Sir Henry had promised to make an examination of the subject and report. When, however, he was called upon to do so he refused to respond, sat back in his seat, and allowed a vote of adjournment through lack of confidence in the government to pass without opening his head. The governor thereupon came down in the vice-regal laced coat and cocked hat which etiquette has established as the proper garb for such business and prorogued parliament; a general election was ordered, and Sir Henry sat down to await the summons from government house, which was to constitute the next event in his programme. Very singularly, however, it did not come. Either the governor did not share Sir Henry's belief that the retired premier was the only person capable of steering the ship of state, or else he was imbued with the opinion which, I believe, prevails in England, that a parliamentary defeat is a practical one, and involves allowing the other side to have its innings. At all events, instead of summoning Sir Henry to save the country, he called in one Dibbs, the leader of the opposition, to this important function, and the late premier's plans like those of many mice and men, were sadly "agley."

It may be in order to digress a moment here to show how, with a clear majority behind him, Sir Henry was defeated on the issue he allowed to be raised. He, like the greater part of the parliament, is an earnest free trader, and on any strictly financial or economic question would be sure to maintain his ground. The protection party, however, is strong enough to make it necessary to use some effort to carry on his policy, and he is generally found in the forefront of every debate where free trade interests are assailed. The New South Wales legislative assembly (which is distinguished from the legislative council as the American house of representatives is from the senate) is probably the noisiest and most unmanageable body of its kind in the world. Although Sir Henry had a good working majority behind him, he was opposed by a strong minority on all financial measures and found it necessary to keep a strict whip hand over his own forces on the side issues which are continually cropping out. His strong anti-Catholic principles on the subject of popular education have also set a strong faction against him, and these influences assisting those who vote against him through thick and thin on general principles, made his defeat on the matter of the railway sub-commissionership a most probable event. This he calculated upon, but he failed to take account of the caprices of fortune, which enjoys tripping up the mighty with threads.

and furnishes us the examples of Goliath and Holofernes for the correction of our pride.

Nor is it easy to see what Mr. Dibbs will do with it now he has got it, or what honor he will derive from its possession, except the rather empty one of being alluded to as "ex-Prime Minister Dibbs" at no distant day. For Sir Henry Parkes is not a man to remain in obscurity, and he will have parted with much of his ability as a planner and mover of crafty schemes if he permits Mr. Dibbs to occupy the chair for any length of time. For the present premier is a man of moderate abilities, and as a protectionist has a majority against him. He cannot hope to avoid at some time making an issue connected with the revenues, nor will it be the fault of Sir Henry, who retains his seat in the assembly, if an opportunity to test the protectionist strength is not soon afforded. So far as indications on the surface go, the protectionists have gained a victory, but, as I have shown, the defeat of the free trade champion has no bearing at all upon the question. There is no probability of the present system being upset; in point of fact, although the protectionists have seized upon the episode to inform Australia and the world that free trade in New South Wales is doomed, it was never stronger than to-day. I say this, although personally I believed that protection would be the better policy for the colony. Under these circumstances Sir Henry Parkes, as the acknowledged leader of the free trade party, cannot long remain out of power. He is by far the most notable figure at present in Australia.

## SINGLE TAX NOTES.

George B. Whaley, chairman of the San Diego single tax county committee, has obtained a list of the names of all the farmers in that county, and he proposes to collect enough money to send tracts to them all. He therefore asks the single tax men in San Diego county to consider the fact that fifty dollars will cover the entire cost of placing in the hands of every farmer in that county a copy of Mr. Shearman's tract "Farmers and the Single Tax" and also two other tracts with blanks for the petition to congress. Contributions should be sent to George B. Whaley, chairman San Diego single tax committee, San Diego, Cal.

Los Angeles, Cal.—I find that some of the staunchest sticklers for private ownership of land are men who have never owned a foot of real estate, and who, under the present order of things, are not likely to own any. There are 5,000 working people out of employment in this city with scarcely any prospect of a job within the next year. There is much suffering, and many persons who accumulated a small property during the boom at boom prices are now sacrificing what little they possess, and are hunting new fields in which to labor. The press of this city, though acknowledging "a stringency in the money market," declare with one accord that the boom still continues and that everything is lovely. Many a poor devil, lured by their flaming advertisements of this locality, has come here and become stranded. A goodly part of the same horde of vampires who have lied, swindled and robbed people here have found new fields for their pernicious activity in Tacoma, Seattle and Salt Lake City.

O. L. LONG.

Detroit, Mich.—We had a very interesting time at our last meeting, the subject being "The Effect of Tariff on Wages." We sent an invitation to the Michigan club (republican) to send us representatives with whom to discuss the question. They replied courteously, but asked for time to decide.

GEORGE GOURLEY.

Omaha, Neb.—We have organized a club for the more effective promulgation of the principles advocated by Henry George, and so well defended by THE STANDARD. Our meetings are not yet large, but universal enthusiasm makes of each man a host. In our declaration of principles we have not stopped at any half-way convictions, but have avowed our belief that all the earth belongs to all men.

C. F. BECKETT.

B. Sagehomme, Box 334 Lawrence, Mass., requests those in his vicinity interested in the single tax movement to send their names and addresses to him.

## Navy and Army and the People.

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 14.—Mr. George's article, "Our Need of a Navy," is very effective. The fifty millions per annum that we are now spending uselessly on these aristocratic institutions is not one of the bricks that Mr. Shearman says must be taken off before we can hope to see the wall leveled and the single tax realized, but it is a good portion of the whole wall. It might be much more profitably spent in the effort to abolish the barbarous business of warfare, and consequently the necessity of standing armies and navies. The money spent is not the worst feature about maintaining military establishments in time of peace in this country, but it is the pernicious influence it exerts in opposing social reforms. The remark of General Sherman, that the next use of the army in this country would be to suppress labor uprisings, should not be forgotten by wage earners. There are about four hundred army and navy officers on duty in Washington, a great many of whom are assigned to duty here solely for the purpose of influencing legislation affecting their interest, and this they do in a manner little understood outside of this city. They can be found usurping the civilians' duties on every hand, and one only need come in contact with one of them to be convinced of what they seem to be taught, that the military is the superior authority.

A. JOHNSON.



## NEW IDEAS, METHODS AND INVENTIONS.

## De Bausset's Air Ship.

A committee of congress has reported favorably a bill appropriating \$150,000 for the purpose of building an air ship as described in the patent of Arthur de Bausset. De Bausset's theory is the same as that on which a steel steamship is built, which is that if a vessel is lighter than the water it displaces it will float. So too, if a vessel can be constructed that will displace air weighing more than it weighs, it will rise till it reaches the level where the air is just heavy enough to float it. The Boston Transcript, describing the proposed ship, says: "Nothing can be built that would be lighter than the air it displaces, but practically the same effect can be produced by removing from a lightly built structure more than its weight of air; or in other words by creating a vacuum." That is to say, the weight of a hollow body consists of two parts, first the weight of the material forming the shell, and secondly, the weight of the air contained in the shell. Now if enough of this air can be removed, that is, if a sufficiently large vacuum can be created, the vessel will displace more air than it weighs, and will rise. De Bausset proposes to build a strong steel shell of sufficient strength to resist atmospheric pressure from without after the air has been removed from the interior. Here are his figures, giving dimensions, lifting power, etc.: Weight of air ship complete, 415,696 lbs.; weight of air contained therein, 721,872 lbs.; vacuum at 24 exhaustion, 541,404 lbs.; lifting power over, 125,000 lbs. That is, when the vessel is finished and before the air pumping commences, it will weigh 415,696 pounds and will contain 721,000 pounds of air; the lifting power being, of course, anything less than the difference between the weight of the materials and the amount of vacuum created or air displaced. Such a vessel would rise slightly with a weight of passengers and freight amounting to 125,000 pounds. Or it would rise without any additional weight to such altitude where the weight of the outside atmosphere displaced just equalled the weight of the materials and the rarified air contained in the partial vacuum. The Transcript's description of the vessel reads as follows: "The cylinder is to be constructed of thin steel plates of great tensile strength, 1-4 of an inch thick. These will be braced from the interior—the pressure will all be from the outside—by a system of arcs, flanges and rings which will be arranged eight inches apart throughout its entire length. This will give double the strength required by the atmospheric pressure. As is well known, the pressure decreases the greater the altitude. At 412 miles the pressure would only be 3-5 as great as that close to the earth. The inventor says he will avoid storms by traveling at a high altitude. If too high for comfortable respiration, pure oxygen will be artificially provided. The car or platform, on which will be carried much of the machinery, the passengers and the freight, is suspended from the cylinder by strong steel bars so arranged as to give the structure, as a whole, the perfect rigidity which is absolutely necessary. It will be about 175 feet in length. Electricity will furnish the power for driving the machinery, which will consist of pneumatic pumps for exhausting the air from the cylinder and the propelling apparatus. Steel with an alloy of aluminium will be used in the construction of the machinery, partly because the weight will be lessened, but primarily because finer work can be done with it. The horizontal motion or speed will be obtained from eight independent compound exhausting screws. Four of these will be placed directly under the cylinder and will each be capable of throwing upon the surrounding atmosphere from 300,000 to 500,000 cubic feet of air per minute. The other four will be situated on the platform, two at each end, and will be used in connection with the steering apparatus for guiding the vessel and also in its propulsion. Dr. de Bausset estimates that under favorable atmospheric conditions he can drive his air ship at more than seventy miles an hour. This project of Dr. de Bausset's, on the face of it, reads like a leaf from the wildest romance; but every one of his statements can be backed up mathematically. Now, it would be folly to contend that one plus one does not make two. It is likewise folly for any one to say that Dr. de Bausset's ship will not fly till it has been tried. His figures are all correct as far as can be judged, and are endorsed by many men of science, among others George W. Melville, chief of the bureau of steam engineering, U. S. N.; W. H. Paine, chief engineer of the Brooklyn bridge, and Professor Edwin Houston, professor of physics in Franklin institute, Philadelphia. Hitherto when in the air the ship and its occupants have been at the mercy of every varying breeze, because no mechanical device could be invented that would counteract the action of the wind on the great swaying mass of silk which enclosed the gas that furnished the lifting power. There could be no rigidity, and consequently no propelling machinery could be brought to bear for giving it speed against the wind. In the air ship under discussion there is perfect rigidity, which allows the effective action of propelling machines. Dr. de Bausset's scheme has not been proved practically, but, being theoretically possible, should receive encouragement, as its successful accomplishment would revolutionize existing modes of transportation."

## Electric Motors Cheaper than Steam Locomotives.

The Daft electric motor company have recently put up on the Ninth avenue elevated railway, in this city, a section of the largest conductor ever used for the transmission of an electric current. It is a round bar of iron three inches in diameter, having attached to the upper side, by screws, a flat strip of phosphor bronze for a contact piece. Mr. Daft states that the result of the recent trials upon the road have been worked out sufficiently to show that a saving of about \$100 per day can be effected upon the Ninth avenue line by the use of these motors. This

estimate is made upon the basis of trials including indicator tests, etc., made with the motor and with a regular locomotive doing the same work. Owing to the fact that the locomotives upon this line must be pushed to their utmost steaming capacity at times, it has been found to pay best to use a high grade of coal, which costs \$5 per ton, while for the stationary plant used for the electric system an inferior quality of coal can be used, costing \$2.85 per ton, and less of the latter is used.—[American Machinist.]

## A Velocipede for Ice Travel.

The latest application of the velocipede principle has been made by a sportsman, who made a sled to run upon the ice, which he propelled by means of foot pedals, the same as a bicycle. The wheel which is rotated by the pedals is fitted with steel spurs, which take hold of the ice, and it may be revolved at various ratios of speed to that of the pedals. The resistance of friction is so slight that it is said very high rates of speed are attained by it. When the wind is favorable the propelling wheel is lifted off the ice and a canoe mast and sails used instead.

## FROM AN IRON WORKER'S TOWN.

## Billy Radcliffe Gives Some News of What Is Going On in His Part of Ohio.

YOUNGSTOWN, Ohio.—The Youngstown single tax club is still on deck. We recently issued challenge after challenge in the daily paper here, and were at last rewarded by receiving an answer from an iron worker, who with two other iron workers was willing to defend the tariff. The question for debate was: "Is the tariff beneficial to the people of the United States?" There were to be three on a side, but the protectionists came up with one man only; and the excuse for the non-appearance of the two who were to help him was that they had been accused of carrying the favor of monopolists by upholding protection, so they had decided not to debate. So we had it with him, and after a short debate we opened up for questions, and the result was a red-hot, all around debate, which lasted till 11 o'clock.

We celebrated the birthday of Thomas Jefferson and the decennial of "Progress and Poverty," and at that meeting pledged ourselves to support Allen W. Thurman for governor if nominated.

The Australian ballot bill came up in our state senate March 27. The vote stood 15 yeas, 7 nays. As it required 19 votes to carry it was lost, but was reconsidered and set for April 3. The following clipping from the Cleveland Penny Press tells the tale:

The senate, by a vote of 16 to 9, downed Taylor's bill providing for the Australian system of voting. Senator Coulter led the opposition. His salient argument was that the system originated in a kangaroo government and was the most asinine piece of legislation ever brought before the general assembly. This sort of argument was productive of the following nays: Adams, Coulter, Cowgill, Glover Kerr, Mebafeff, Robertson, Snyder and Zimmerman. Nine senators were either absent or bolted, and the bill failed to receive a constitutional majority. Taylor talks of having the bill introduced in the house.

BILLY RADCLIFFE.

## TARIFF NOTES.

That "home market" which we heard so much about last fall from the protectionists, seems to mean that the farmers and laborers of this country are to be shut up by a wall of high taxes as a "home market" for the trusts and monopolists to rob at their pleasure.—[Clinton, Ind., Argus.]

No people more admire the American home trading, monopoly tariff and tariff taxation than Germany and England. The tariff has driven American commercial ships from the high seas.—[Jamestown, N. Y., Every Saturday.]

According to the agricultural department reports, the number of sheep in Vermont has fallen off in the past year from 393,301 to 365,770, in New Hampshire from 205,000 to 194,770, in Massachusetts from 62,637 to 59,505 and in Connecticut from 49,000 to 47,000. If this thing keeps on much longer under our "fostering" wool tariff, there will be none left at all to "send greeting," as we were told during the last campaign, to similar animals of the west on the occasion of future high tariff victories; and our "shepherds on a thousand hills," of whom Ben Butterworth spoke, will be begging bread in the streets.—[Springfield, Mass., Republican.]

Speaking of the recent and very general reductions of wages in the protected iron mills of Pennsylvania, the Troy Times, monopoly tax organ, explains that "other influences besides the tariff often affect the compensation of labor." And yet the Times' party conducted the last campaign upon the theory that high tariffs necessarily meant high wages, and its great leader, Mr. Blaine, assured the workmen that their wages could not be reduced without their own consent.—[Indianapolis Sentinel.]

## Waiting Till the Proper Time.

Lowell Citizen.

A Hopeful Outlook.—Boomer—Yes, sir! Southern California is almost abreast of the east in all that marks a civilized community.

Boston (condescendingly)—Yes. You are getting along. You have hotels, schools, prisons, colleges and everything here except almshouses and lunatic hospitals.

Boomer—We have the plans for them drawn, but we are waiting until the bottom drops out of the boom before we provide for our eastern visitors.

## PERSONAL.

Daniel R. Goodloe, who has been in the city for several weeks on business and pleasure, has returned to his home in Washington, D. C. He is very much encouraged at the growth of the single tax movement in this city. Mr. Goodloe has been trying to prevail on Mrs. E. D. E. N. Southworth, the celebrated novelist, to write a story which will show up the poverty and misery endured by the masses of the people under our form of civilization. He says that if she can be induced to do the work, he has no doubt that she will give the world a book that will create as profound an impression in this generation as "Uncle Tom's Cabin" did in the last. Mrs. Southworth's son, Dr. Southworth, is a convert to the single tax idea.

A. Lyons of Canton, Kansas, writes a letter to the Kansas Commoner in criticism of that paper's opposition to Henry George and his theory. The Commoner, in answer, says it does differ with Mr. George, and states its position thus: That "occupation and use should be the sole natural title to land."

The Washington Capital has become interested in the taxation so far as it concerns the District of Columbia, and during the paper's investigations it has discovered that a large class of lands in the suburbs has been under assessed. C. B. Hemingway writes to point out to the Capital something it has not discovered, namely, that the lands in the heart of Washington city are under assessed. He says that "if the suburban lands were entirely released from taxation and urban taxation increased thereby, the result would be to cheapen city lands, giving access to the people to them, and they would then not want to go to the suburbs." Mr. Hemingway asks the editor to "think this out." The Capital shows in its answer to Mr. Hemingway's letter that he intends to do so.

One of the best answers to Wheelbarrow, the effervescent political economist who contributes anti-single tax articles to the Open Court, is that of Peter McGill, of Milwaukee. Mr. McGill's article appeared in the Open Court of April 4.

Dr. A. Theodore Stamm of Wiesbaden, Germany, recently contributed an article to the Amerikanische Turn Zeitung of Milwaukee, an organ of the Turner Bund, in which he seeks the "chief cause of the enslaving of the workers and the robbing of the masses" and advocates as the only means of curing these evils, the nationalization of ground rents. Dr. Stamm was one of the original investigators who came to the conclusion that land monopoly was the one great cause of the social evils. He wrote a book entitled, "The salvation of perishing humanity," giving his views on this question, which appeared some years before "Progress and Poverty" was published. He also founded a society for the spreading of the belief in land nationalization.

The Toronto Christian Guardian a short time since criticised the land theories of Henry George, pronouncing them "essentially communistic and leveling." The single tax men of that city, through S. T. Lyon, sent the Guardian an answer to the criticism, which that paper declined to publish; whereupon it was sent to the Toronto News, which published it. This action of the Christian Guardian has caused considerable comment among other than single tax men.

Channing M. Smith is the editor and publisher of the Parkersburg, W. Va., Index, which, each issue, bristles with short paragraphs showing how unjustly the present systems of taxation bear upon producers.

## By the Light of the Sun.

Charles Mackey.

Thank God for the sunshine, the air, and the sea,  
For the rain and the dew, ever free, so free!  
No landlord can parcel them out or conspire  
To sell them, or tax them, or let them on hire;  
And close up with barriers what God hath designed  
In mercy and love for the needs of mankind.

There's a break in the clouds, there's a gleam  
in the sky,  
There's a beautiful star, brightly shining on high,  
That heralds the dawn and the long-promised day.

When Right shall be Might, and shall flourish  
for aye,  
When man on the strength of his manhood  
shall stand,  
To enjoy and possess and replenish the land!

With our faces to heaven and our feet on the  
sod,  
We swear by the Faith that we cherish in  
God—

By the breeze of the sky, by the light of the  
sun—  
That the Land shall be ours, and that Right  
shall be done.

Hear it, ye tyrants, that hold us in thrall,  
God, the Great Giver, gives freely to all.

## Let the City Tax Land Values and Stop Issuing Bonds.

At a meeting of the West Side single tax club, held on April 4, Dr. David Wark, Wm. B. DuBois and E. P. Ingersoll were appointed a committee to draw up and present to Mayor Grant of this city a protest relative to the system of raising money for the needs of the city by the issuing of interest bearing

bonds. The occasion for this protest was the recent issue of \$9,000,000 worth of non-taxable interest bearing bonds to pay for the new parks. The committee drew up a carefully worded memorial, which was adopted by the club, and forwarded to the Mayor. It contained the following declaration:

We assert that there is only one remedy. That is, for the city to transact all its business on an absolutely cash basis. If credit must be used, that credit, instead of being in the form of interest-bearing bonds, should circulate as money and bear no interest. We recognize, however, that under present laws it is impracticable for the city to issue such a credit. Therefore, the only just way that remains is to raise all necessary funds by direct taxation. This can easily be done with little, if any, increase in the tax rate by assessing all unimproved property (and) within the city limits at its full market value. It is a notorious fact that the heaviest burden of taxation falls upon houses and improvements, while unimproved lands, which are increased in value by reason of such improvements, are taxed very lightly. This is particularly the case in the upper portions of the city, where much vacant land, which cannot be bought except at high prices, is taxed at only one-tenth to one-fourth its selling value.

## The Times Are Indeed Ripe for Discussion.

Chicago News.

The news of prairie fires in Dakota, day before yesterday which destroyed so much property naturally gives rise to the question, what can be done to prevent such fires recurring? It would seem that they would never amount to much if the country were thickly settled by men who owned their properties. The Dakotas well understand what it is that makes habitations but a sprinkling over the vast tract of land within their boundaries. It is land speculation, whereby he who toils not is made the equal partner of him who works late into the night. Let a farmer work hard to make a living from his land. The speculator next him who hasn't broken the ground profits by the farmer's work; and not only that, but instead of paying to the state a part of the enhanced value of the untitled prairie, he is listed for so much "wild land," while the tax assessor, searching for taxable stuff, finds it without difficulty in the farmer's house, his cows, his flocks, his improvements. The tax assessor proclaims the doctrines of communism. "You think that wheat is yours because you grew it," he cries, "or that barn is yours because you built it? Folly. Is the work of your own hands yours as against the world? Heresy. See now how I prove that the state has a right to take part of it. Or if it have not the right it has the might, which is the same thing." The farmer thinks something is wrong, but knows not what. He advocates putting more taxes on personality, forgetting what that lot at the corner of Madison and Dearborn streets sold for. The times are ripe for a discussion of what is just a scheme of taxation. If there be a simple and equitable method of maintaining the expenses of government which shall rather encourage than discourage industry it would be well to inquire into it. It were a strange condition of affairs where of the three servants in the parable who respectively received from their master ten talents, five talents, and one talent the one who wrapped his talent in a napkin and hid it in the ground should have gained the most usury.

## Duty on Watches, Twenty-five Per Cent.

Bradstreet's.

At the annual meeting of the Waltham Watch company in Boston last week it was voted to increase the capital stock of the company by \$1,000,000, making the total capital \$3,000,000. A cash dividend of fifty per cent was also declared. The treasurer of the company, in explaining the matter, said that the company had a surplus of \$2,000,000 above its capital. The capital stock had been increased to the extent of the cash dividend, and those of the stockholders who wished could take the cash they received in dividends, and purchase new stock at par in proportion to what they already held. It was not a stock dividend. The other \$1,000,000 surplus would be used in carrying on the business of the company. There would be no additions to the works on the head of the increase in stock. In 1865, when the capital stock was \$300,000, a dividend of 150 per cent was made and the stock increased to \$850,000. In 1880 a dividend of 100 per cent was made and the stock increased to \$1,600,000, and in 1885 the stock was increased \$500,000, for which the stockholders paid.

## But, Citizen, Suppose the Hobby Is Truth Itself.

Brooklyn Citizen.

There is, after all, alike in politics and in medicine, no panacea, no mystical formula that will banish all ailments, no concentrated tincture that is a substitute for the vital principle. It is the besetting sin of enthusiasts to believe that they have found the philosopher's stone, and it is one of the misfortunes of human life that in proportion to the sincerity and earnestness with which this phantom is pursued comes bitter disappointment, disgust and despair when the cold truth is ultimately realized that it is a phantom and nothing more. The members of the single tax club are not dreamers or fanatics more than the rest of mankind that has its own hobby, but they can suffer no harm if they are reminded from time to time that the fleetest of hobbies will never overtake the truth.

## Let Him Keep the Brick Till '03.

Harrisburg Patriot.

Trot out the republican campaign banner which says "the tariff keeps up wages" and see an idle workman throw a brick through it.



## THE YOUNG KING.

BY OSCAR WILDE.

It was the night before the day fixed for his coronation, and the young king was sitting alone in his beautiful chamber. His courtiers had all taken their leave of him, bowing their heads to the ground, according to the ceremonious usage of the day, and had retired to the great hall of the palace, to receive a few last lessons from the professor of etiquette, there being some of them who had still quite natural manners; which in a courtier is, I need hardly say, a very grave offense.

Thelad—for he was only a lad, being but sixteen years of age—was not sorry at their departure, and had flung himself back with a deep sigh of relief on the soft cushions of his embroidered couch, lying there, wild-eyed and open-mouthed, like a brown woodcock fawn, or some young animal of the forest newly snared by the hunters.

And, indeed, it was the hunters who had found him, coming upon him almost by chance as, bare limbed and pipe in hand, he was following the flock of the poor goatherd who had brought him up, and whose son he had always fancied himself to be. The child of the old king's only daughter by a secret marriage with one much beneath her in station—a stranger, some said, who, by the wonderful magic of his lute playing, had made the young princess love him; while others spoke of an artist from Florence, to whom the princess had shown much, perhaps too much, honor, and who had suddenly disappeared from the palace leaving his work in the cathedral unfinished—he had been, when but a week old, stolen away from his mother's side as she slept, and given into the charge of a common peasant and his wife, who were without children of their own and lived in a remote part of the forest, more than a day's ride from the town. Grief, or the plague, as the court physician stated, or, as some suggested, a swift Italian poison, administered in a cup of spiced wine, slew, within an hour of her waking, the white girl who had given him birth, and as the trusty messenger who bore the child across his saddlebow, stooped from his weary horse and knocked at the rude door of the goatherd's hut, the body of the princess was being lowered into an open grave that had been dug in a deserted churchyard beyond the city gates, a grave where, it is said, another body was also lying, that of a young man of marvelous and foreign beauty, whose hands were tied behind him with a knotted cord, and whose breast was stabbed with many red wounds.

Such, at least, was the story that men whispered to each other. Certain it was that the old king, when on his death bed, whether moved by remorse for his great sin, or merely desiring that the kingdom should not pass away from his line, had had the lad sent for, and, in the presence of the council, had acknowledged him as his heir.

And it seems that from the very first moment of his recognition he had shown signs of that strange passion for beauty that was destined to have so great an influence over his life. Those who accompanied him to the suite of rooms set apart for his service often spoke of the cry of pleasure that broke from his lips when he saw the delicate raiment and rich jewels that had been prepared for him, and of the almost fierce joy with which he flung aside his rough leathern tunic and coarse sheepskin cloak. He missed, indeed, at times the fine freedom of his forest life, and was always apt to chafe at the tedious court ceremonies that occupied so much of each day; but the wonderful palace—Joyeuse, as they called it—of which he now found himself lord, seemed to him to be a new world fresh-fashioned for his delight; and as soon as he could escape from the council board or audience chamber he would run down the great staircase, with its lions of gilt bronze and its steps of bright porphyry, and wander from room to room, and from corridor to corridor, like one who was seeking to find in beauty an anodyne from pain, a sort of restoration from sickness.

Upon these journeys of discovery—as he would call them—and, indeed, they were to him real voyages through a marvelous land—he would sometimes be accompanied by the slim, fair-haired court pages, with their floating mantles and gay, fluttering ribbons; but more often he would be alone—feeling through a certain quick instinct, which was almost a divination, that the secrets of art are best learned in secret,

and that beauty, like wisdom, loves the lonely worshiper.

Many strange stories were related about him at this period. It was said that a stout burghmaster, who had come to deliver a florid oratorical address on behalf of the citizens of the town, had caught sight of him kneeling in adoration before a great picture that had been just brought from Venice, and that seemed to herald the worship of some new gods. On another occasion he had been missed for several hours, and after a lengthened search had been discovered in a little chamber in one of the northern turrets of the palace gazing, like one in a trance, at a Greek gem carved with the figure of Adonis. He had been seen pressing his warm lips to the marble brow of an antique statue that had been discovered in the bed of the river on the occasion of the building of the stone bridge, and was inscribed with the name of the Bithynian slave of Iladrian. He had passed a whole night in noting the effect of the moonlight on a silver image of Endymion.

All rare and costly materials had certainly a great fascination for him, and in his eagerness to procure them had hesitated away many merchants, some to traffic for amber with the rough fisherfolk of the North seas, some to Egypt to look for that curious green turquoise that is only found in the tombs of kings, and is said to possess magical properties, some to Persia for silken carpets and painted pottery, and others to India to buy gauze and stained ivory, moonstones and bracelets of gold, sandalwood and blue enamel, and shawls of fine wool.

But what had occupied him most was the robe he was to wear at his coronation, the robe of tissue gold, and the ruby-studded crown, and the scepter, with its rows and rings of pearls. Indeed it was of this that he was thinking to-night, as he lay back on his luxurious couch, watching the great pinewood log that was burning itself out on the open hearth. The designs, which were from the hands of the most famous artists of the time, had been submitted to him many months before, and he had given orders that the artificers were to work night and day to carry them out, and that the whole world was to be searched for jewels that would be worthy of them. He saw himself in fancy standing at the high altar of the cathedral in the fair raiment of a king, and a smile played and lingered about his boyish lips and lit up with a bright luster his dark woodland eyes.

After some time he rose from his seat, and, leaning against the big carved chimney, he looked round at the dimly-lighted room. The walls were hung with rich tapestries representing the Triumph of Beauty. A large press, inlaid with agate and lapis-lazuli, filled one corner, and facing the window stood a curiously wrought cabinet with lacquer panels of powdered and mosaiced gold, on which were placed some delicate goblets of Venetian glass, and a cup of dark-veined onyx. Pale poppies were brodered on the silk coverlet of the bed, as though they had fallen from the tired hands of Sleep, and tall reeds of fluted ivory bore up the velvet canopy, from which great tufts of ostrich plumes sprang, like white foam, to the pallid silver of the fretted ceiling. A laughing Narcissus in green bronze held a polished mirror above its head. On the table stood a great bowl of amethyst.

Outside he could see the huge dome of the cathedral, looming like a bubble over the shadowy houses, and the weary sentinels pacing up and down on the misty terrace by the river. Far away, in an orchard, a nightingale was singing. A faint perfume of jasmine came through the open window. How wonderful the world seemed—this little lovely world round which the moon was sailing! He brushed his brown curls back from his forehead, and taking up an amber lute he let his fingers stray across the cords. His heavy eyelids drooped, and a strange languor came over him. Never before had he felt so keenly, or with such exquisite joy, the magic and the mystery of beautiful things.

When midnight sounded from the clock tower he touched a bell and his pages entered and disrobed him with much ceremony, pouring rose water over his hands and strewing flowers on his pillow. A few moments after that they had left the room, he fell asleep.

And as he slept he dreamed a dream, and this was his dream:

He thought that he was standing in a long, low attic, amidst the whirr and clatter of many looms. The meager daylight peered in through the grated win-

dows, and showed him the gaunt figures of the weavers bending over their cuses. Pale, sickly looking children were crouched on the huge crossbeams. As the shuttles stopped they let the battens fall and pressed the threads together. Their faces were pinched with famine, and their thin hands shook and trembled. Some haggard women were seated at a table sewing. A horrible odor filled the place, the air was foul and heavy, and the walls dripped and steamed with damp.

The young king went over to one of the weavers, and stood by and watched him. And the weaver looked at him angrily and said: "Why art thou watching me? Art thou a spy set on us by our master?"

"Who is your master?" asked the king.

"Our master!" cried the weaver, bitterly. "He is a man like myself. Indeed, there is but this difference between us—that he wears fine clothes while I go in rags, and that while I am weak from hunger he suffers not a little from over-feeding."

"The land is free," said the young king, "and thou art no man's slave."

"In war," answered the weaver, "the strong makes slaves of the weak, and in peace the rich makes slaves of the poor. We must work to live, and they give us such mean wages that we die. We toil for them all day long, and they heap up gold in their coffers, and our children fade away before their time, and the faces of those we love become hard and evil. We tread out the grapes, and another drinks the wine; we reap the corn, and our board is empty. We have chains, though no eyes sees them; and are slaves, though men call us free."

"Is it so with all?" asked the young king.

"It is so with all," answered the weaver; "with the young as well as with the old, with the women as well as with the men. The merchants grind us down, and we must needs do their bidding. The priest rides by and tells his beads, and no man has care of us. Poverty creeps through our sunless lanes, and sin follows close behind her. Misery wakes us in the morning, and shame sits with us at night. But what are these things to thee? Thou art not one of us. Thy face is to happy." And he turned away scowling, and threw the shuttle across the loom, and the young king saw that it was threaded with a thread of gold.

And a great terror seized upon him, and he said to the weaver: "What robe is this that thou art weaving?"

"It is the robe for the coronation of the young king," he answered; "what is that to thee?"

And the young king gave a loud cry and awoke, and he was in his own chamber, and through the window he saw the great honey-colored moon hanging in the dusky air.

And he fell asleep again and dreamed, and this was his dream:

He thought that he was lying on the deck of a huge galley that was being rowed by a hundred slaves. On a carpet by his side the master of the galley was seated. He was as black as ebony, and his turban was of crimson silk. Great earrings of silver hung down from his ears, and in his hands he had a pair of ivory scales.

The slaves were naked but for a ragged loincloth, and each man was chained to his neighbor. The hot sun beat down upon them and scorched them, and the negroes ran up and down the gangway and lashed them with whips of hide.

Yet they made no cry. They were gaunt and horrible and silent. Some of them had dreadful sores; others were branded on the shoulder. They seemed to him like skeletons covered with a shriveled parchment. They stretched out their lean arms and dragged the heavy oars through the water. The salt spray flew from the blades.

At last they reached a little bay, and began to take soundings. A light wind blew from the shore, and covered the deck and the great lateen sail with a fine red dust. Three Arabs mounted on wild asses rode out and threw spears at them. The master of the galley took a painted bow in his hand and shot one of them in the throat. He fell heavily into the surf, and his companions galloped away. A woman wrapped in a yellow veil followed slowly on a camel, looking back now and then at the dead body.

As soon as they had cast anchor and hauled down the sail, the negroes went into the hold and brought up a long rope ladder, heavily weighted with lead; the master of the galley threw it over the side, making the ends fast to two iron

stanchions. Then the negroes seized the youngest of the slaves, and knocked his gyves off, and filled his nostrils and his ears with wax, and tied a big stone round his waist. He crept wearily down the ladder, and disappeared into the sea. A few bubbles rose where he sank. Some of the other slaves peered curiously over the side. At the prow of the galley sat a shark charmer, beating monotonously upon a drum.

After some time he rose up out of the water, and clung panting to the ladder with a pearl in his right hand. The negroes seized it from him, and thrust him back. The slaves fell asleep over their oars.

Again and again he came up, and each time that he did so he brought with him a beautiful pearl. The master of the galley weighed them, and put them into a little bag of green leather.

The young king tried to speak, but his tongue seemed to cleave to the roof of his mouth, and his limbs refused to move. The negroes chattered to each other, and began to quarrel over a string of bright beads. Two cranes flew round and round the vessel.

Then the slave came up for the last time, and the pearl that he brought with him was fairer than all the pearls of Ormuz, for it was shaped like the full moon, and whiter than the morning star. But his face was as pale as death, and as he fell upon the deck the blood gushed from his ears and nostrils. He quivered for a little, and then he was still. The negroes shrugged their shoulders, and threw the body overboard.

And the master of the galley laughed, and, reaching out, he took the pearl, and when he saw it he pressed it to his forehead and bowed. "It shall be," he said, "for the scepter of the young king." And he made a sign to the negroes to draw up the anchor.

And when the young king heard this he gave a great cry and woke, and through the window he saw the long gray fingers of the dawn clutching at the fading stars.

And he fell asleep again, and dreamed, and this was his dream:

He thought that he was wandering through a dim wood, hung with strange fruits and with beautiful poisonous flowers. The adders lusted at him as he went by, and the bright parrots flew screaming from branch to branch. Huge tortoises lay asleep on the hot mud. The trees were full of apes and peacocks.

On and on he went till at last he reached the outskirts of the wood, and there he saw an immense multitude of men toiling in the bed of a dried up river. They swarmed up the crag like ants; they dug deep pits in the ground and went down into them. Some of them cleft the rocks with great axes; others grabbed in the sand. They tore up the cactus by its roots and trampled on the scarlet blossoms. They hurried about, calling to each other, and no man was idle.

From the darkness of a great cavern Death and Avarice watched them, and Death said: "I am weary; give me a third of them and let me go."

But Avarice shook her head. "They are my servants," she answered.

And Death said to her: "What hast thou in thy hand?"

"I have three grains of corn," she answered; "what is that to thee?"

"Give me one of them," cried Death, "to plant in my garden; only one of them, and I will go away."

"I will not give thee anything," said Avarice, and she hid her hand in the fold of her raiment.

And Death laughed, and took a cup and dipped it into a pool of water, and out of the cup rose Ague. She passed through the great multitude, and a third of them lay dead. A calm mist followed her, and the water snakes ran by her side.

And when Avarice saw that a third of the multitude was dead she beat her breast and wept. She beat her barren bosom, and cried aloud. "Thou hast slain a third of my servants," she cried, "get thee gone. There is a war in the mountains of Tartary, and the kings of each side are calling to thee. The Afghans have slain the black ox, and are marching forth to battle. They have beaten upon their shields with their spears, and have put on their helmets of iron. What is this valley to thee, that thou shouldst tarry in it? Get thee gone and come here no more."

"Nay," answered Death, "but till thou hast given me a grain of corn I will not go."

And Avarice shut her hand and



clenched her teeth. "I will not give thee anything," she muttered.

And Death laughed, and took up a black stone and threw it into the forest, and out of a thicket of wild hemlock came Fever in a robe of flame. She passed through the multitude, and touched them, and each man that she touched died. The grass withered beneath her feet as she walked.

And Avarice shuddered, and put ashes on her head, and hid her face. "Thou art cruel," she cried; "thou art cruel. There is famine in the walled cities of India, and the cisterns of Samarcand have run dry. There is famine in the walled cities of Egypt, and the locusts have come up from the desert. The Nile has not overflowed its banks, and the priests have cursed Isis and Osiris. Get thee gone to those who need thee, and leave me my servants."

"Nay," answered Death, "but till thou hast given me a grain of corn I will not go."

"I will not give thee anything," said Avarice.

And Death laughed again, and he whistled through his fingers, and a woman came flying through the air. Plague was written upon her forehead, and a crowd of black vultures wheeled round her. She covered the valley with her wings, and no man was left alive.

And Avarice fled shrieking through the forest, and Death leaped upon his red horse and galloped away, and his galloping was faster than the wind.

And out of the slime at the bottom of the valley crept dragons and horrible things with scales, and the jackals came trotting along the sand, sniffing up the air with their nostrils.

And the young king wept and said, "Who were these men, and for what were they seeking?"

"For rubies for a king's crown," answered a voice behind him.

And the young king started, and turning round, he saw a man dressed like a pilgrim, and holding in his hand a mirror of silver.

And he grew pale and said, "For what king?"

And the pilgrim answered, "Look in this mirror and thou shalt see him."

And he looked in the mirror and seeing his own face he gave a great cry and woke, and the bright sunlight was streaming into the room and the birds were singing in the garden.

And the chamberlain and the high officers of state came in and made obeisance to him, and the pages brought him the robe of tissue gold, and set the crown and the scepter before him.

And the young king looked at them, and they were beautiful. More beautiful were they than anything that he had ever seen. But he remembered his dreams, and he said to his lords, "Take these things away for I will not wear them."

And the courtiers were amazed and some of them laughed, for they thought that he was jesting.

But he spoke sternly to them again, and said: "Take these things away, and hide them from me. Though it be the day of my coronation, I will not wear them. For on the loom of Sorrow, and by the white hands of Pain, has this my robe been woven. There is Blood in the heart of the ruby, and Death in the heart of the pearl." And he told them his three dreams.

And when the courtiers heard them they looked at each other and said: "Surely he is mad; for what is a dream but a dream, and a vision but a vision? They are not real things that one should heed them. And what have we to do with the lives of those who toil for us? Shall a man not eat bread till he has seen the sower, nor drink wine till he has talked with the vinedresser?"

And the chamberlain spoke to the king, and said: "My lord, I pray thee set aside these black thoughts of thine, and put on this fair robe, and set this crown upon thy head. For how shall the people know that thou art king, if thou hast not a king's raiment?"

And the young king looked at him, and said to him: "Is it so? Will they not know me for a king if I have not a king's raiment?"

"They will not know thee, my lord," said the chamberlain.

"I had thought that there had been men who were kinglike," he answered, "but it may be as thou sayest. And yet I will not wear this robe, nor shall I be crowned with this crown, but even as I came to the palace so shall I go forth from it."

And he bade them all leave him, save

one page whom he loved, a lad a year younger than himself. Him he kept for his service, and when he had bathed himself in clear water, he opened a great painted chest, and from it he took the coarse leathern tunic and rough sheepskin cloak that he had worn when he had watched on the hillside the shaggy goats of the goatherd. These he put on, and in his hand he took his rude shepherd's staff.

And the little page opened his big blue eyes in wonder and said, smiling to him: "My lord, I see thy robe and thy scepter, but where is thy crown?"

And the young king took a spray of wild briar that was climbing over the balcony, and bent it, and made a crown of it, and set it on his head.

"This shall be my crown," he answered.

And thus attired he passed out of his chamber into the great hall, where the nobles were waiting for him.

And the nobles made merry, and some of them cried out to him, "My lord, the people wait for their king, and thou showest them a beggar," and others were wrath and said: "He brings shame upon our state, and is unworthy to be our master." But he answered them not a word, but passed on, and went down the bright porphyry staircase, and out through the gates of bronze, and got upon his horse, and rode toward the cathedral, the little page running beside him.

And the people laughed and said: "It is the king's fool who is riding by," and they mocked them.

And he drew rein and said, "Nay, but I am the king." And he told them his three dreams.

And a man came out of the crowd and spoke bitterly to him, and said: "Sir, knowest thou not that out of the luxury of the rich cometh the life of the poor? By your pomp we are nurtured, and your vices give us bread. To toil for a hard master is bitter, but to have no master to toil for is more bitter still. Thinkest thou that the ravens will feed us? And what cure hast thou for these things? Wilt thou say to the buyer, 'Thou shalt buy for so much,' and to the seller, 'Thou shalt sell at this price?' I trow not. Therefore go back to thy palace and put on thy purple and fine linen. What hast thou to do with us and what we suffer?"

"Are not the rich and the poor brothers?" asked the young king.

"Aye," answered the man, "and the name of the rich brother is Cain."

And the young king's eyes filled with tears, and he rode on through the murmurs of the people, and the little page grew afraid and left him.

And when he reached the great portal of the cathedral, the soldiers thrust their halberds out and said: "What dost thou seek here? None but the king enters at this door."

And his face flushed with anger, and he said to them, "I am the king," and waved their halberds aside and passed into the cathedral.

And when the old bishop saw him coming in his goatherd's dress, he rose up in wonder from his throne, and went to meet him, and said to him: "My son, is this a king's apparel? And with what crown shall I crown thee, and what scepter shall I place in thy hand? Surely this should be to thee a day of joy, and not a day of abasement."

"Shall Joy wear what Grief has fashioned?" said the young king. And he told him his three dreams.

And when the bishop had heard them he knit his brows and said: "My son, I am an old man, and in the winter of my days, and I know that many evil things are done in the world. The robbers come down from the mountains and carry off the little children, and sell them to the Moors. The lions lie in wait for the caravans, and leap upon the camels. The wild boar roots up the corn in the valley, and the foxes gnaw the vines upon the hill. The pirates lay waste the seacoast and burn the ships of the fishermen, and take their nets from them. In the salt marshes live the lepers; they have houses of wattle reeds, and none may come nigh them. The beggars wander through the cities, and eat their food with the dogs. Canst thou make these things not to be? Wilt thou take the leper for thy bedfellow, and set the beggar at thy board? Shall the lion do thy bidding, and the wild boar obey thee? Is not He who made misery wiser than thou art?"

"Wherefore I praise thee not for this that thou hast done, but I bid thee ride back to the palace and make thy face glad, and put on the raiment that becometh a king, and with the crown of gold I

will crown thee, and the scepter of pearl will I place in thy hand. And as for thy dreams, think no more of them. The burden of this world is too great for one man to bear, and the world's sorrow too heavy for one heart to suffer."

"Savest thou that in this house?" said the young king, and he strode past the bishop and climbed up the steps of the altar, and stood before the image of Christ.

He stood before the image of Christ, and on his right hand and on his left were the marvelous vessels of gold, the chalice with the yellow vine, and the vial with the holy oil. He knelt before the image of Christ, and the great candles burned brightly by the jeweled shrine, and the smoke of the incense curled in thin blue wreaths through the air. He bowed his head in prayer, and the priests in their stiff copes crept away from the altar.

And suddenly a wild tumult came from the streets outside, and in entered the nobles in full armor, with drawn swords, and nodding plumes, and shields of polished steel. "Where is this dreamer of dreams?" they cried. "Where is this king, who is appareled like a beggar—this boy who brings shame upon our state? Surely we will slay him, for he his unworthy to rule over us."

And the young king bowed his head again, and prayed, and when he had finished his prayer he rose up, and turning round he looked at them sadly.

And lo! through the painted windows came the sunlight streaming upon him, and the sunbeams wove around him a tissued robe that was fairer than the robe that had been fashioned for his pleasure. The dead staff blossomed, and bare lilies that were whiter than pearls. The dry thorn blossomed, and bare roses that were redder than rubies. Whiter than fine pearls were the lilies, and their stems were of bright silver. Redder than male rubies were the roses, and their leaves were of beaten gold.

He stood there in the raiment of a king, and the gates of the jeweled shrine flew open, the silken veil was rent asunder, and from the crystal of the many rayed monstrance shone a marvelous and mystical light. He stood there in a king's raiment, and the glory of God filled the whole cathedral, and the saints in their carved niches seemed to move. In the fair raiment of a king he stood before them, and the organ pealed out its music, and the trumpeters blew upon their trumpets, and the singing boys sang.

And the people fell upon their knees in awe, and the noblest sheathed their swords and did homage, and the bishop's face grew pale, and his hands trembled. "A greater than I hath crowned thee," he cried, and he knelt before him.

And the young king came down from the high altar and passed home through the midst of the people. But no man dared look upon his face, for it was like the face of an angel.

"The Most Fruitful Cause of Crime is Poverty."

New York Sun.

"It is a curious coincidence," said a detective the other night, "that nearly all tenement-house murders occur on the top floor. In fifteen years' experience in this city, I think I can count on my fingers all murders in tenement houses that did not sustain my statement. The most fruitful cause of crime is poverty, and the poorest people live in the cheapest rents, which are, of course, the top floors of the big tenements."

A Center Shot.

New York World.

With a singular inconsistency a protectionist organ, the Sun, objects to the state paying

a bounty for sorghum sugar. "If it does not pay to raise sorghum, why should the people of the state be taxed to enable a few persons to grow this particular crop?" it asks. And if it doesn't pay to grow wool, or to mine iron and coal, or to manufacture salt and cotton and woollen goods, why should the people be taxed to enable a few persons to do these particular things? If bounties are to be the rule, pass them around.

The Knights Leaning Toward the Single Tax.

New York News.

About five hundred clothing cutters gathered at Florence hall last Sunday afternoon, and listened to a lecture on the "Principles of the Knights of Labor," by James A. Wright, one of the general lecturers of the order. Mr. Wright protested against the employment of child labor and against convict contract made goods coming in contact with those of honest labor. He leaned toward the land idea as favored by Henry George.

Why Didn't the Federation Bear This in Mind Last November?

New York Evening Post.

The American federation of labor has issued or is about to issue an address in favor of the eight hour movement. The address states that there are 1,000,000 men, who would be glad to work, unemployed in the United States. These people, it says, must be supported, and "it would be much cheaper to keep them employed than to keep them in idleness."

Consumption Cured.

An old physician, retired from practice, having had placed in his hands by an East India missionary the formula of a simple vegetable remedy for the speedy and permanent cure of Consumption, Bronchitis, Catarrh, Asthma and all throat and lung affections, also a positive and radical cure for Nervous Debility and all Nervous Complaints, after having tested its wonderful curative powers in thousands of cases, has felt it his duty to make it known to his suffering fellow-men. Actuated by this motive and a desire to relieve human suffering, I will send free of charge, to all who desire it, this recipe, in German, French or English, with full directions for preparing and using. Sent by mail by addressing with stamp, naming this paper, W. A. Noyes, 149 Power's block, Rochester, N. Y.

MISCELLANEOUS.

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## QUERIES AND ANSWERS.

### He Wants Light.

SHENANDOAH, IOWA.—One of your single tax "lunatics" was around the other day trying to convert us all to the new doctrine, and he told us that THE STANDARD would answer any questions or objections to the single tax scheme.

The substance of his argument was this: "Imagine a territory uninhabited. Clearly there is no land value (this is not true as there is a value based on a prospective need) because no one will pay anything for the use of land. A pioneer arrives and builds a house and cultivates the soil. There is yet no land value, as there is plenty of free land in the vicinity. Population increases to five hundred people. Now comes the doctor, the lawyer and the merchant. They are willing to pay for the use of land near the center of population. Now, there is a land value. Who created it? Why, the whole people. Every new born baby increased land values. Land value was created by all. Why not take the thing that was created by all for the benefit of all, i. e., take it for public purposes?"

Now all this looks very pretty at first sight but when one comes to consider the matter is there really anything in it? Will not the same line of argument hold good when applied to capital? Here are 500 houses in an unsettled country. It is not necessary for the purpose of this inquiry to consider how they came there (may be the builder had a "pointer" from a railroad company and so knew population would increase.) There is no house value because no one will pay anything for the use of a house. The pioneer comes along but will pay nothing for the use of a house, because there is no demand for houses. So there is no house value as yet. Population increases to 501. Now there is a house value. Who created it? Why the whole "increase in population and improvement in the arts." The community created the values (not the houses), and why not take the thing created by all for the benefit of all—that is the house rent?

Is it not true that all values are created in exactly the same way that land values are—by increase of population?

No one advocates taxing houses or improvements, but the present system taxes house values and improvement values.

I am not speaking of that feature of our system of taxation which discourages production. I have reference to the comparative justice of the two systems. Can you give me some light?

JOHN HOWARD.

I have a vague suspicion that you are a single tax man, and not an unconscious one either; and I am sure that, whether you know it or not, you have sadly travestied the burlesque philosophy of a distinguished essayist—one Mallock by name. I do not believe you need any light, but I will try to answer your question.

In saying that land in an uninhabited territory has a value based on prospective need, you are pretending not to understand the single tax "lunatic" who undertook to convert you. He may have spoken of the territory as uninhabited, but he meant, and you might as well confess that you understood him to mean, unappropriated as well as uninhabited. Now, how do you suppose any value can attach to what is unappropriated? Value is the relation that one thing bears to another in trade, and since it takes two to make a trade, on what possible basis can anything that no one owns or claims to own be valuable? Nothing has value until it gets an owner; until then the first comer may have it for nothing. The fallacy with which you are trying to confuse me lurks in the fact that all the uninhabited territory that either you or I know anything about is owned. If it were not owned, prospective need for it might be never so great without in the slightest degree preventing any one from taking it for nothing. It is not prospective need that gives value to uninhabited land, but the concurrence of prospective need and present ownership. And it is just here that the single tax would operate most beneficently, by taxing land according to its value. Land that was valuable only because the owner was depending on prospective need would yield no rent out of which to pay the tax, and the owner, finding the holding of it an unprofitable speculation, would abandon it. Then the land would be free until all land equally desirable was owned.

But it is when you ask if population does not give value to capital as well as to land that you remind one so comically of the distinguished Mr. Mallock. You imagine 500 houses in an unsettled country, saying parenthetically, as if it were of no particular moment—so much after the manner of Mr. Mallock—that "it is not necessary for the purpose of this inquiry to consider how they came there." But it is necessary to consider how they came there. Political economy is a practical science. It does not treat of miraculously built houses. Land is the only object not made by man with which the science deals. If we should wake up some morning and find an uninhabited and unowned prairie dotted with 500 comfortable houses, a spontaneous gift of the

creator like the land itself, those houses like the land would be free. They would have no value for just about long enough for 500 families to get there. I beg pardon—until one family got there; for that one family would appropriate them all. Then they would be owned, and would have value, and that value would be just as much and no more than it would be if they had been a year in construction. And no matter how many more people came there, those houses would never be worth any more, if quite so much, as it would cost to build others like them. If, however, all further building there were prohibited, the miraculous houses would increase in value with increase of population. It is this that makes the difference between the value of houses and the value of land. Houses are not built miraculously nor is there any other limit to their construction than labor and land; while land, economically considered, is built miraculously and there is a limit to its construction—a limit so unyielding that it cannot be increased by so much as an atom.

You suggest, however, that the builder of these 500 houses might have had a pointer from a railroad company, and so have known that population would increase. That is a legitimate supposition, and we will consider it. Could he have built the houses for nothing? Of course not; he would have been compelled to invest as much labor and capital in building there as in building the same kind of houses anywhere. When the population arrived could he get any more for the houses than it would cost to erect new ones? Of course not; people will not for any considerable time pay more for anything than the cost of duplicating it. When the population increased, would his houses be worth any more than when there were but just enough people to fill them? Of course not. An extraordinary demand for houses stimulates house building. In respect to the land, all this would be radically different.

Increase of population does not increase the value of houses, but it does constantly, continually and invariably increase the value of land. The point you make is that a house located where no one wants to live, like land where no one wants to live, has no present value. This is true. It is true also that when population comes the house will have value, and when it comes in sufficient volume will have full value. It is true, therefore, that houses are dependent on population for value. But to say that houses are dependent on population for value is not say that their value is determined by population. It is this that gives to land values their peculiar character—they are not only dependent on population but are determined by population. A house located where no one wants to live has no value. Neither has the land on which it stands. But let a million people want to live in that neighborhood, and though the value of the land will be very great, the value of the house will be no more than the cost of building houses like it. Let two million want to live there and the land value will be still greater, but the value of the house will not.

You say you are not speaking of that feature of our present system of taxation that discourages production, but of the comparative justice of the two systems. Consider, then, that the land as a matter of abstract right common property, while improvements belong to the producer. The income of the former is, therefore, justly a public revenue, while that of the latter is justly a private revenue.

L. F. P.

HOUSTON, TEXAS.—What difference, if any, will the single tax and free trade make in the interest obtainable for the use of money, and why?

E. W. BROWN.

They would stimulate production and trade and reduce the proportion of product going to rent. This would at once increase both the product and that proportion of it that goes to labor; which would make the employment of capital more profitable, just as it would increase wages, and for the same reason. The employment of capital being profitable to the owner, it would be equally so to the borrower, whose interest would, therefore, be higher than when the employment of capital was not so profitable.

To understand exactly what I mean, let us suppose slavery to be still in force. Suppose also that we have free trade and the single tax, which make business brisker and labor more profitable to its owner. But the masters are owners of slave labor, and get the benefit of its in-

creased wages. Now, suppose a slave owner lends his slave. Since the slave will yield him more than in dull times, he will want more from the borrower than he would in dull times. This would be akin to higher interest, for though slaves are not capital, yet when they are treated as capital there is an analogy between their wages and interest on true capital. This illustrates, what I do not doubt, that interest on loans of any particular capital, would be higher under the single tax and free trade than now, and, as money represents all forms of capital, interest on money would be higher.

L. F. P.

### Why Put All Taxes on One Kind of Property?

SPRINGFIELD, ILL.—The following question has been propounded to me by J. M. Higgins, editor of the Illinois State Register, "A owns ten thousand dollars. With this he purchases dry goods. B has a like sum with which he buys land. Now why should B be taxed and A go free?" Will THE STANDARD please explain once more to the praying editor.

W. HOPE DAVIS.

The justice of taxing away the full rental value and destroying the selling value of land, and of exempting all the products of industry from taxation is apparent when the distinction between the former and the latter kinds of property is understood. Land is not a product of labor. It is nature's gift to all mankind; hence each monopolist of a particular piece should pay to the community the rental value of that part of the common domain he holds. Society in its turn should guarantee absolute security of possession and the ownership of all his products to each individual.

But under the single tax B would not have to use his \$10,000 in buying land, since land will lose its selling price whenever the community takes the full rental value by taxation. B, under the single tax, would put up a building and fill it with household goods or stock or machinery. His \$10,000 would not be taxed. A would buy dry goods with his \$10,000. His goods also would not be taxed. But both B and A would use more or less land for business and residence purposes, and each would pay to the community the rental value of the land he monopolized.

The only loss would be to those who have under the present system bought land which they rent out or are holding for selling purposes. Users of land would be in a better position than now for the selling value of land being destroyed an exchange of real estate would in most cases be simply the buying and selling of improvements, and as all speculative holdings of city lots, farms, forests, mines, water rights, etc., would be forced into market for whatever rental they would bring, the user would have a far greater range of choice than now. Thus the man who has a \$10,000 lot to-day, would, if he wanted land for use, be benefited if all land lost its selling value. For all other \$10,000 lots, including the speculative holdings, would also lose their selling value and he would be able to change about without risking so much money as at present. His greatest gain would, however, be in the exemption of improvements from taxation, thus allowing labor to receive its full reward instead of being fined and discouraged as now, and in the stimulation to industry which this exemption of improvements and the forcing of all idle lands into use would cause.

W. B. S.

### Who Would Pay the Tax?

BOSTON, MASS.—The taxable property of Southbridge, Mass., is \$3,000,000 (valuation). Of this the land represents \$500,000. The tax raised on the \$3,000,000 is \$60,000. Of this \$60,000 a large part is paid by the American Optical company, whose land is marsh land, of little value. If the \$60,000 is raised on the land valuation alone, how will it lift the weight of taxation from the farmer? The \$60,000 must be raised. If the American Optical company and other manufacturers here pay less than now, and the farmer pays less, where will the burden of taxation fall? I am a single tax advocate of long standing. This problem presents a difficulty I am unable to meet. But it does not, and would not, alter my faith in the doctrine, because that rests upon a recognition of the fundamental truth that land is not property.

EDWARD GLENFANN SPENCER.

If it were true that the land values of Southbridge were only \$500,000 and \$60,000 are the revenues needed, then the rental value tax would have to be supplemented by some other tax. But is it true? The census of 1880 shows that the \$3,000,000 of taxable property in Southbridge is \$2,000,000 real estate and \$1,000,000 personality. You say that only \$500,000, or one-quarter of the real estate assessment represents land value. This is a very exceptionally small proportion for the land to bear. Furthermore, I have

never yet heard of a town or district where, as a rule, unused or half used land was taxed at even half its value. In some cases, as in certain mining districts, it is not taxed at one-thousandth of its value. Supposing that real estate is assessed at two-thirds of its real value in Southbridge. Then the actual value of all the real estate is \$3,000,000. Do you believe that only \$500,000 is land value? It is probably nearer \$1,500,000.

We do not claim that every farmer and every manufacturer and every merchant would pay less taxes under the single tax than now. We do claim that the shifting would make a man pay according to what he monopolized; that is all. As a farmer, a merchant, a manufacturer, in short, as an improver, he would pay less. But if his interests as a land monopolist, a landlord, a speculator, were greater than his interests as an improver he would pay more. And this is the most important effect of the single tax; for, as we believe, it will give a greater stimulus to production and cause a more equitable distribution of wealth than any other reform.

W. B. S.

### "THE GREAT N. P."

The initials "N. P.," used so frequently in reference to the policy of the present protectionist government and party in Canada stand for National Policy. This explains what is meant by the title of a short satirical poem written by a single tax free trader and published in pamphlet form in Toronto. It is called "The Great N. P.," and is dedicated to "Everybody," and his rich friend "Somebody" and his poor friend "Anybody."

Here are some extracts from the poem: "Protection" or "Free Trade," discover which will make a nation prosperous or rich! To common minds 't would seem as clear as day,

Increased taxation means the more to pay; That every tax on every import laid, Is by ourselves or by the alien paid; If by the alien, who would dare gainsay They should be doubled? Let the alien pay! If by ourselves, who is there can deny That all these taxes are by far too high? If neither pay them, shall I ask in vain, Whence do they come? Will someone please explain!

A heavy tax to sugar sweetness lends, And through the tea a fine aroma sends; It acts on coffee just like any charm, And makes the blankets keep us twice as warm; A tax on lemons, oranges and such, Encourages our home production much; Taxed rice will go much further than before, And taxing bibles makes us read them more; Taxed rifles send a more unerring bull, And untaxed nuts could not be cracked at all; Taxed shoes will give us everlasting wear, And hair-oil taxed promotes the growth of hair; No doubt the Chief, to whom the truth is dear, Will tell us at the next election here That water taxed would drink like lager beer. Ah, who can doubt such things could never be Without thy aid, O glorious N. P.

Look, see you vessel reach the wharf at last! The perils of the sea are safely past. Her decks are crowded with a sturdy band, Who view with earnest gaze the promised land.

Step lightly to the shore and look about, Grateful to those who paid their passage out. For this, indeed, each workman should be A staunch supporter of the great N. P. All living labor is admitted free! Now, here is wisdom! This is no mistake, Men are less dangerous than the goods they make.

Then, addressing Sir Richard Cartwright, the well known liberal, whose advanced ideas have encouraged the hope that he may become the leader of the great radical movement now commencing, the poet says:

Onwards! Still onwards! Mark your country's needs, Fear not to follow whither justice leads; Be bold and fearless, lead us to the light, Thrice is he armed who battles for the right. Knock off her shackles, all her fetters break, Enfranchise commerce on land and sea and lake; Let not the people's voice be rendered vain By gerrymanders made for party gain. Onwards, Sir Richard, never be dismayed! As for your tariff—here's one ready made: The wisest, noblest, simplest ever planned, One only tax—the single tax—on land. Unfurl your flag, close up your ranks and then Your battle cry—Free Trade, Free Land, Free Men!

Who Gets the Difference Between What It Costs and What the Consumers Pay? Frederick A. Seward in his book, The Coal Trade.

In the anthracite region the average wages for mining a ton of coal are 42½ cents; in Illinois miners get from 50 to 70 cents a ton; in Iowa 75 cents a ton; in western Kentucky 62½ cents a ton; in Maryland 50 cents a ton, and at one point in West Virginia 35 cents a ton.

### A Bit of Humor.

New York News. Henry George's "single tax" has attracted the attention of an Austin boy, who mistakes it for a single tax, and thinks it will diminish corporal punishment by parents if carried out.



### WHAT THE NEWSPAPERS SAY.

The only just tax is a tax on land values.—*[Ypsilanti Commercial.]*

The tax on ground rents on land values (the same thing practically) means that all the labor of men is to be exempt from tax. The value that comes to land by growth of the community is to be assessed for all the expenses of the community, and nobody is to be fined for building houses or employing men.—*[Parkersburg, W. Va., Index.]*

The democracy are committed, unequivocally and unalterably, to tariff reform, to a reduction of duties to a revenue basis, to an unshackled commerce which means the world's market for American products. Our hand is to the plow, and there can be no looking backward.—*[Harrisburg Patriot.]*

The Industrial West job office turned out 31,000 election tickets for the city election held here last Monday, and it is safe to estimate that there were printed in all for this election at least 120,000 tickets. All for the accommodation of 6,000 voters. What a great relief it will be to candidates when we get the Australian system of voting. Six thousand tickets will then be enough for a city of this size, and there will be no bogus tickets in the field.—*[Dubuque, Iowa, Industrial West.]*

Farmers, do not lose sight of the fact, that the single tax is a tax on land values.—*[Port Jervis, N. Y., Citizen.]*

The people ought to understand that without vigilance on their part more of their franchises will be practically given away. Since Indianapolis has been a town it has never had a cent for the privileges which its existence has created.—*[Indianapolis News.]*

If the immigrant will give the subject of taxation anything like careful investigation, he will find that by placing the taxes on the soil and not on improvements, taxes would be more equal and less burdensome than they are now.—*[Ocala, Fla., Banner.]*

In a word, the single tax on land would favor small property owners, who are work ingmen, would double the taxes of land speculators, and would favor manufacturers, who, in turn, would be able to give the work ingmen steadier employment.—*[Detroit News.]*



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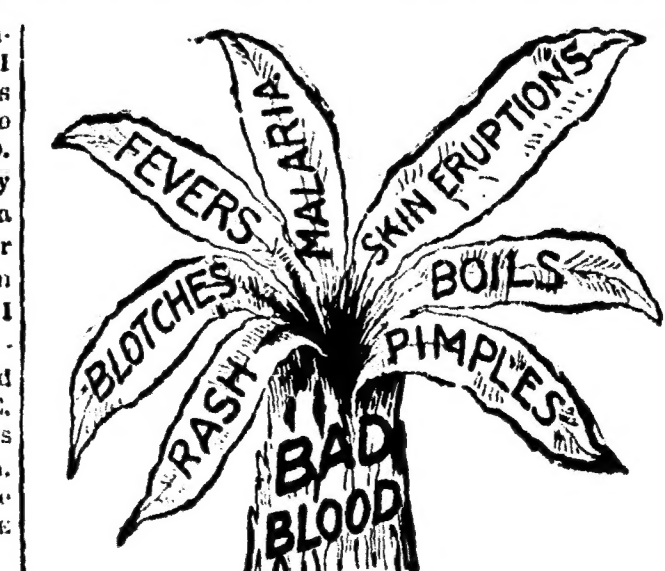
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